# CONTENTS


SAVONAROLA IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN RESEARCH. *Joseph Urban Bergkamp, O.P., M.B.* ..... 369

WHAT THE AMERICAN HAS GOT OUT OF THE MELTING POT FROM THE CATHOLIC ..... *Lawrence F. Flick* 407

IRISH MONKS AND THE TRANSMISSION OF LEARNING ..... *Hugh Graham* 431

MISCELLANY
SHRINE OF THE NORTH AMERICAN MARTYRS ..... 443
JOHN SINGER SARGENT, HISTORIOGRAPHER ..... 444

NECROLOGY
HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL BEGIN ..... 446
DR. CHARLES FRANCIS AIKEN ..... 449
DR. HENRY JONES FORD ..... 450
MR. J. FENDALL CAIN ..... 451

CHRONICLE
THE OXFORD CONFERENCE ..... 452

BOOK REVIEWS ..... 505
FROTHINGHAM, *The Naval History of the Great War. The Stress of Sea Power 1915-1916;* SIMKHOVITCH, *The Roman Colonate: The Theories of Its Origin;* FOSSUM, *The Agrarian Movement in North Dakota;* TREVELYAN, *British History in the Nineteenth Century, 1782-1901;* MULKERINS, *Holy Family Parish, Chicago, Priest and People;* SMITH, *Our Pastors in Calvary: Biographical Sketches of Parish Priests of St. Louis 1854-1926;* DEGNAN, *The Golden Jubilee of Saint Agnes Parish, New York City, 1874-1923;* BRADLEY, *The Journal of Louis Hémon;* WOOLLEN, *The Inside Passage to Alaska 1792-1920;* LEGRAND, *Saint Jean Chrysostome;* GILSON, *Saint Thomas D'Aquin;* KARPINSKI, *The History of Arithmetic;* WAGNER, *California Voyages 1539-1541;* SKELTON, *The Life of Thomas D'Arcy McGee;* BEVENOT, *Pagan and Christian Rule;* LARRIOLLE, *History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius;* HARDMAN, *The Ideals of Asceticism; The Miracles of King Henry VI;* GREEN, *History of the Irish State to 1014;* JOYCE, *A History of Gaelic Ireland from the Earliest Times to 1608.*

NOTICES ..... 531

NOTEWORTHY ARTICLES IN CURRENT PERIODICALS ..... 538

NOTES AND COMMENT ..... 546

BOOKS RECEIVED ..... 555


GETTYSBURG COMPILER PRINT, GETTYSBURG, PA.

## BOOK REVIEWS


BEVENOT—*Pagan and Christian Rule*, by William P. H. Kitchin, Ph.D. 522
BRADLEY—*The Journal of Louis Hémon* ..... 513
DEGNAN—*The Golden Jubilee of Saint Agnes Parish, New York City, 1874-1923* ..... 513
FOSSUM—*The Agrarian Movement in North Dakota* ..... 508
FROTHINGHAM—*The Naval History of the Great War. The Stress of Sea Power, 1915-1916* ..... 505
GILSON—*Saint Thomas D'Aquin*, by James M. Ryan ..... 517
GREEN—*History of the Irish State to 1014*, by M. B. ..... 527
HARDMAN—*The Ideals of Asceticism*, by William P. H. Kitchin, Ph.D. 525
JOYCE—*A History of Gaelic Ireland from the Earliest Times to 1608*, by M. B. ..... 529
KARPINSKI—*The History of Arithmetic*, by M. T. M. ..... 518
LABRIOLLE—*History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius*, by William P. H. Kitchin, Ph.D. ..... 523
LEGRAND—*Saint Jean Chrysostome*, by James H. Ryan ..... 515
*The Miracles of King Henry VI*, by William P. H. Kitchin, Ph.D. .... 526
MULKERINS—*Holy Family Parish, Chicago, Priests and People*..... 512
SIMKHOVITCH—*The Roman Colonate: The Theories of Its Origin* .... 507
SKELTON—*The Life of Thomas D'Arcy McGee*, by M. T. M. ..... 521
SMITH—*Our Pastors in Calvary: Biographical Sketches of Parish Priests of St. Louis 1854-1924* ..... 512
TREVELYAN—*British History in the Nineteenth Century 1782-1901*.... 509
WAGNER—*California Voyages 1539-1541*, by M. T. M. ..... 520
WOOLLEN—*The Inside Passage to Alaska 1792-1920*..... 514



## BOARD OF EDITORS

**Editor-in-Chief**

RIGHT REV. THOMAS J. SHAHAN, D.D.

**Managing Editor**

REV. PATRICK W. BROWNE, D.D., Ph.D.

**Associate Editors**

VERY REV. PATRICK J. HEALY, D.D., Chairman
REV. VICTOR O'DANIEL, O.P., S.T.M.
CHARLES HALLAN MCCARTHY, Ph.D.
REV. HENRY IGNATIUS SMITH, O.P., Ph.D.
REV. PETER GUILDAY, Ph.D.
LEO F. STOCK, Ph.D.
RICHARD J. PURCELL, Ph.D.
REV. EDWIN J. RYAN, D.D.



**Publication Office, Gettysburg, Pa.**
**Correspondence in regard to contributions and subscriptions should be sent to the Managing Editor, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.**

The
Catholic Historical Review

NEW SERIES, VOLUME V OCTOBER, 1925 NUMBER 3

# SAVONAROLA IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN RESEARCH

If the history of the fifteenth century may be summed up in a word, that word is—transition. It served as a bridge linking the much maligned world of Medievalism with the unexplored shores of a new epoch. Many events happened during this period of a hundred years which overturned the traditional and accepted social order, leaving its impress on every phase of life —on commerce, science, religion, and government.

The fifteenth century was ushered in as two powerful nations were pitted against each other in frenzied fray; in a struggle which brought martyrdom to the heroic Maid of Orleans. No sooner had this century passed its meridian than the fair city of Constantinople was seized by the Turk, leaving the Christians weak and disillusioned. The dignified halls of learning, of Arts and Letters were then invaded, leaving in its lustful wake an ugly occupant, half Christian, half pagan. One note of gladness, however, came to cheer the last moments of a century, bruised and torn by successive reverses: the glad tidings of the success of Christopher Columbus and Vasco da Gama.

Such in a word was the lot of one of the most interesting, and yet the most radical of centuries in the gamut of man's historic past. The subject of this paper—Jerome Savonarola—lived during the latter half of this eventful era. Naturally influenced by the spirit of the age, Savonarola's sensitive soul stubbornly resisted the rapid current which eventually led him into insuperable difficulties. He was a year old when Constantinople fell in

1453; the same year in which the Hundred Years' War between France and England was brought to a close. His life is well known. It may be found on almost any book-stand. It is our purpose solely to point out the salient features of his short career in Florence.

Naturally austere and taciturn, Savonarola was strongly attracted to the ecclesiastical life. Accordingly, he sought and received the religious habit of the Order of Friars Preacher at Bologna, in 1475. Very little is recorded of his early religious life, other than the fact that he showed himself at all times a model novice and a zealous student. In the year 1491, Savonarola was elected Prior of the Dominican Convent of San Marco in Florence, and from this time until his death, the story of Florence and of Savanarola is as one. Moved beyond description at the vicious lives of the Florentines, Savonarola became truly eloquent in his denunciations, and effected a decided improvement in the morals of the people. Particularly fiery were his assaults on the immoralities of the princes and of the clergy. He made enemies both at home and abroad as a consequence. When Pietro de Medici was driven from the city, the people instinctively turned to Savonarola for advice and guidance. Although he took no active part in their politics, Savonarola by his sermons established a new form of government, theocratic in character. Pope Alexander VI was at that time endeavoring to unite all of Southern Italy in a league against King Charles VIII of France. Florence, through Savonarola's advice, stubbornly refused to join the league, and allied itself with Charles. This opposition, together with Savonarola's sermons against Alexander's private life, thoroughly aroused the Pontiff. In the beginning, no action was taken to silence the friar; but on July 21, 1495, Savonarola received the first of a series of briefs sent to him by Alexander. This brief of July 21 was a summons to appear at Rome. Savonarola could not possibly obey at that time, being in bad health, and in constant danger of assassination. Considering the times, all went fairly well for the next two years, with an occasional brief from Alexander, followed by Savonarola's ready response. But on May 13, 1497, the patience of the Pope was spent, and the final Bull of Excommunication was launched against Savonarola. The people were struck as

by a thunderbolt from heaven. The next eight months saw the friar peacefully secluded in his convent, devoting himself exclusively to prayer and writing. During this time he participated in no ecclesiastical functions, and ceased to appear in the pulpit. This silence persisted until Christmas, when he celebrated Mass and distributed Holy Communion. This was a blunder which ultimately brought about his death. On Septuagesima Sunday, 1498, he again appeared before the people, in open defiance of the Pope. This rebellious act brought a threat from Alexander to place the city under interdict, if the friar was not immediately silenced. An interdict in those days would have stifled the trade and commerce of the Florentines, their principal means of subsistence, and would have precipitated a condition of affairs altogether undesirable. The Seigniory advised Savonarola to quit the pulpit, at least for a time. Misfortune and adversity now multiplied, until the adherents of the friar were almost negligible in comparison. The proximate occasion of his downfall was the famous "Ordeal by Fire," suggested by unfriendly Franciscans to prove Savonarola's Divine Commission. The Ordeal proved to be a farce, and cost Savonarola the faith and loyalty of most of his followers, the Piagononi. The Florentines were sorely disappointed in not witnessing an interesting spectacle, and on the following day, April 8th, they stormed the Convent of San Marco. Savonarola, with his two most intimate disciples, Fra Domenico, and Fra Silvestro, was led away to prison. Most of the accounts of the trial which followed give sufficient evidence of its illegal procedure. The prisoners were accused of every sort of crime, and led to admit guilt under torture. Having reached a positive conviction, two papal commissaries, despatched by the Pope, reviewed the evidence in a second mock trial, held for the mere formality. Their guilt was then established with papal approbation, and May the twenty-third was set as the day of execution. Courageous to the last, Savonarola celebrated Mass, and humbly accepted the Plenary Indulgence granted him by Alexander. The three friars were then hanged, their bodies burned, and their ashes thrown into the River Arno.

Such was the end of a courageous soul, whose enthusiasm for reform led him to the stake. From the day that Savonarola en-

tered public life, his actions, his words, and his character have been the object of interpretations and judgments of a most diverse nature. Some have depicted him as a Catholic martyr and a saint; others look upon him as a fanatic or an impostor; others again consider him as a precursor of Luther. But whatever be the merit or demerit of these conclusions, his name resounded throughout the whole of Europe during the last years of his life, and continued to hold its attention for more than two centuries. Due, perhaps, to the opprobrium with which all religious affiliations were held, and perhaps to the rationalistic trend philosophy and science were taking, Savonarola's name seemed to be completely forgotten in the eighteenth century. Consequently, when BAYLE wrote his *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, he remarked that if Savonarola were not an impostor, he was at least a fanatic.A few years later, an Italian historian of some repute, MODESTO RASTRELLI, wrote an anonymous biography of the friar, dated falsely from Geneva, in 1781: *Vita del Padre Girolamo Savonarola.* This work simply repeated the ideas of Bayle, but in a tenacious and bitter manner. It betrayed a bias so pronounced that it was never accepted by historical scholars. A year after the appearance of Rastrelli, another anonymous biography was published, this time from Leghorn, in 1782, entitled: *Della Storia del Padre Girolamo Savonarola.* Its author was a Dominican, VINCENZO BARSANTI, whose volume was an eloquent defense of Savonarola against the sneers of Rastrelli. Barsanti was too scientific and intricate to be appreciated. His work is so profuse in quotations and arguments against Rastrelli that readers became weary and discouraged perusing it pages. As a result, Savonarola's name fell back again into oblivion until the nineteenth century, when interest was once more revived, this time to be permanent.

It is the scope of this paper to present a study of Savonarola in the light of modern historical development, placing particular stress on the critical progress of Savonarola literature during the past century. We have not attempted to treat everything that has been written, for the libraries and archives of the world are literally flooded with relevant material. But out of an overwhelming mass of literature, comprising books, pamphlets, and periodicals, we have chosen the following authors, who have

either contributed something new to the subject, or have influenced in some way or other its subsequent development:

RUDELBACH, (A. G.)—*Hieronymus Savonarola und seine Zeit*, Hamburg, 1835.
MEIER, (F. K.)—*Girolamo Savonarola*, Berlin, 1836.
MARCHESE, (V.)—*Lettere Inedite di Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, (Archivio Storico Italiano), Florence, 1850.
MARCHESE, (V.)—*Storia del Convento di San Marco*, Florence, 1853.
MARCHESE, (V.)—*Scritti Vari del Padre Marchese*, Florence, 1855.
HASE, (K.)—*Savonarola*, Leipzig, 1851.
PERRENS, (F. T.)—*Jerome Savonarola*, Paris, 1853.
MADDEN, (R. R.)—*The Martyrdom of Savonarola*, London, 1853.
NARDI, (J)—*Istorie di Firenze*, Florence, 1858.
HARTFORD, (J. S.)—*Life of Michelangelo*, London, 1858.
VILLARI, (P.)—*La Storia di Savonarola e soi tempi*, Florence, 1859.
AQUARONE, (B)—*Vita di Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, Alexandria, 1859.
GUICCIARDINI, (F)—*Profezie politiche e religiose di Girolamo Savonarola*, Florence, 1863.
CARD, (R.)—*Savonarole et la Statue de Luther à Worms*, Berlin, 1868.
BURCKHARDT, (J.)—*Geschichte de Renaissance in Italien*, Stuttgart, 1868.
CAPELLI, (A.)—*Fra Savonarola e Notizie intorno il suo tempo*, Modena, 1869.
RANKE, VON, (L.)—*Savonarola und die florentinische Republik*, Leipzig, 1877.
CLARK, (W. R.)—*Savonarola, His Life and Times*, London, 1878.
GHERARDI, (A.)—*Nuovi Documenti*, Florence, 1876.
BAYONNE, (E. C.)—*Etude sur Jerome Savonarole, d'après nouveaus documents*, Paris, 1879.
BAYONNE, (E.C.)—*Oeuvres Spirituales choisies de Savonarole*, Paris, 1879.
CREIGHTON, (M.)—*History of the Papacy*, London, 1887.

PASTOR, (L.)—*Geschichte der Papste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Frieburg, 1886.
LUOTTO, (P.)—*Girolamo Savonarola*, Florence, 1897.
LUOTTO, (P.)—*Il vero Savonarola e il Savonarola di Pastor*, Florence, 1897.
FERRETTI, (L.)—*Per la Causa di Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, Milan, 1897.
PROCTOR, (J.)—*Savonarola and the Reformation*, London, 1895.
PASTOR, (L.)—*Zur Beurtheilung Savonarolas*, Freiburg, 1898.
LUCAS, (H.)—*Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, London, 1899.
O'NEIL, (J. L.)—*Jerome Savonarola*, Boston, 1898.
O'NEIL, (J. L.)—*Was Savonarola Really Excommunicated?* Boston, 1900.
HORSBURGH, (E. L.)—*Girolamo Savonarola*, London, 1901.
SCHNITZER, (J.)—*Quellen und Forschungen*, Munich, 1902.
SCHNITZER, (J.)—*Savonarola in Kulturbild aus der Zeit der Renaissance*, Munich, 1924.
DE ROO, (P.)—*Material for a History of Pope Alexander VI*, New York, 1924.

Owing to our inability to obtain some of these books in this country, or to the limited space of our essay, we have selected from the above list eighteen authors, whom we consider essential to an historiographical study of Savonarola literature. After a careful study of these writings, we have analyzed the sources used, traced their dependence upon previous writings, explained the treatment accorded to Savonarola, and have endeavored to point out their influence on subsequent writers: RUDELBACH, (A. G.), MEIER, (F. K.), MARCHESE, (V.), PERRENS, (F. T.), MADDEN, (R. R.), VILLARI, (P.), VON RANKE, (L.), CREIGHTON, (M.), GHERARDI, (A.), BAYONNE, (E. C.), PASTOR, (L.), FERRETTI, (L.), PROCTOR, (J.), LUOTTO, (P.), LUCAS, (H.), O'NEIL, (J. L.), SCHNITZER, (J.), DE ROO, (P.).

## I.

With the dawn of the nineteenth century, science was undergoing a complete transformation. Gradually abandoning the narrow, rationalistic paths so distinctive of scientific pursuits of the preceding century, this new school of thought adopted

methods and ideas decidedly distinct from those of its predecessors. Its outlook on the past was considerably broadened, and above all, its disdainful aloofness, its cold indifference to questions religious were constantly giving way to a condescension that augered well for the future. Naturally, historical studies suffered a similar change, and the Middle Ages, so despised in the previous century by Voltaire and his coterie of disciples, now took on a totally different aspect. Germany was the first to succumb to this feverish outburst of enthusiasm. With a zeal so characteristic of her in all things intellectual, she made decided progress in this apparently new field of endeavor. Her attention was at first focussed upon those years immediately preceding the Protestant Rebellion of the sixteenth century, with the distinct purpose of discovering fresh causes of Luther's outbreak, and perhaps to justify more fully his subsequent course of action. And who could attract their attention more forcibly than the Florentine reformer, Jerome Savonarola?

The first product of this movement was a biography pubished in Hamburg, in 1835, under the title, *Hieronymus Savonarola und seine Zeit.* The author, A. G. RUDELBACH, sought principally to analyze and determine the value of the friar's doctrine. No new facts were given; no fresh explanations of those already known were attempted. The character of Savonarola is absolutely neglected, since the author merely desired to deduce a system of Protestant theology from Savonarola's works. To attain this end, Rudelbach does not hesitate to twist and turn the friar's doctrines so that even Savonarola himself would not recognize them. Giving a minute exposition of the *Triumph of the Cross* in order to discover some hidden Protestant meaning, the author shrewdly omits the last book, dealing with the Sacraments. And this method occurs quite frequently.

In the following year, 1836, a second biography appeared in Berlin, by KAR MEIER, *Girolamo Savonarola.* This author tried to make up for the defects in Rudelbach's work by considering in detail the life and character of Savonarola. Unpardonable negligence and inexactitude occur again and again. Meier takes the same attitude as his predecessor, Rudelbach, towards Savonarola's doctrines, but he at least tries to modify Rudelbach's axaggerated conclusions. Savonarola, however, is included among

the martyrs of the Reformation, so-called, and his arguments in this respect are almost the same as Rudelbach's. Both these authors met with great success in Germany and England, because of the zeal and ardor with which they expressed their opinions. Another reason why these works were applauded was not so much their intrinsic merit, as the authors' opinions, viz., Savonarola, the Precursor of the Reformation.

Naturally, the effect of Rudelbach and Meier was alarming to Savonarola's adherents and admirers, for attention was now drawn to those works upon which such violent abuse had been poured, and to their author, whose career had been completely forgotten and neglected, even despised, for the past century. Credit is due Rudelbach and Meier for a revival of interest in the life of Savonarola, and they are in no small way responsible for the flood of literature on this subject which has lasted even to our own day.

European scholars were now drawn into a feverish state of excitement, and no end of sympathy was elicited for Savonarola as an innocent victim of papal intrigue, and, therefore, hailed as precursor of Luther, and the subsequent disruption of religious unity. It was from the very convent of San Marco in Florence, where Savonarola had ruled the incipient Republic, and which had also witnessed his unfortunate death, that the first dissenting voice was heard, proclaiming Savonarola as a champion of Catholicism and religious liberty. This new protagonist of Savonarola against the slanders and misrepresentations of the two German historians was Padre VINCENZO MARCHESE, himself a member of the Order of Friars Preacher. Father Marchese was already known to Italy through his *Storia dei Pittori Domenicani*, which was later translated into English by the Rev. C. P. MEEHAN, and published at Dublin, in 1852. A chapter is devoted to the reformation of Italian art attempted by Fra Girolamo, and his ideas on the subject. After the appearance of Rudelbach and Meier, Padre Marchese entered the conflict with a zest worthy of his great hero. He ransacked the archives and libraries of Florence, and then spent considerable time in tireless research in other parts of Europe. The results of his labors were printed from time to time in the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, under the title *Lettere inedite di Fra Girolamo Savonarola, e*

*documenti concernenti lo stesso,* Florence, 1850. The letters consist in unpublished correspondence of Savonarola, and writings illustrative of his life. The documents are principally those of Becchi, Bracci, and Bonsi, Florentine envoys at Rome, and their correspondence with the Seigniory and the Ten of Florence. Father Marchese's work received much encouragement, and he was further persuaded to publish his *Storia del Convento di San Marco,* (Florence, 1853). The principal part of the work in Libro Secundo is an almost complete biography of Savonarola. From the authorities quoted and the works cited, one may easily deduce the broad and all-embracing research of the author. In 1853 Marchese summed up most of his previous works, and printed in Florence his *Scritti Vari,* in three volumes, a work very difficult to obtain in this country.

Padre Marchese has been hailed as the champion of Savonarola, and well deserves the title. The effect of his researches was immediate, and the interest of many was aroused to carry on his good work. In all the succeeding biographies of Savonarola, none fail to pay a glowing tribute to Marchese's energetic efforts in collecting material on his brother Dominican. Marchese's work was but an incentive to further effort, since the nature of his task did not permit him to render a complete biography; and then, too, his position as defender would lessen the value of his undertaking and prevent his reception in the rôle of a truly impartial historian. But there were others ready and willing for the task, and these very soon entered the field, already dotted with eminent and learned men. In France, F. T. Perrens appeared, (1853), followed closely by R. R. Madden, in England (1853), and again in Italy in the person of Pasquale Villari, (1859). We now enter upon a period of intense activity in the history of the Florentine friar, which endured throughout the remaining years of the century.

## II.

The first historian to take advantage of the fruits of Father Marchese's extensive research was FRANCOIS T. PERRENS. His book is entitled *Jerome Savonarole, sa vie, ses predications, ses écrits,* and was presented to the Faculty of Letters at Paris as a

thesis for the doctorate. It was published there in 1853. It was the most complete work on Savonarola that had appeared, receiving unstinted praise and success, in both France and Italy. The first volume gives a narrative of Savonarola's life; while the second volume treats of his works, sermons, and writings. M. Perrens spent some time in Florence, receiving considerable assistance from Father Marchese in his researches. Having studied carefully most of the original documents on the subject, he then repaired to Piedmont, where he procured from the Abbé Bernardi copies of many documents contained in the Marcian Library of Venice. Many of these latter documents had been entirely unknown in France and Italy, although they had been brought to light a few years previously by Karl Meier in Germany. Perrens consulted most of the biographies of Savonarola then extant, including two contemporaries of the friar, Burlamacchi, and Pico della Mirandola; the work of Serafino Razzi, written toward the end of the sixteenth century; and finally the two anonymously published works of the eighteenth century, Rastrelli, and Barsanti, whom we have previously mentioned. Consulting, though not always following, the German historian, Rudelbach, Perrens quotes him and at times refers his readers to particular passages. There is a very accurate account of contemporary history, especially of Italy and of Florence, dependent for the most part on the narrative of Nardi, Guicciardini, and Machiavelli. Perrens himself later on wrote a *Histoire de Florence depuis la domination des Medici jusqu'à la chute de la Republique,* a three volume work published in Paris in 1889.

Though there are many defects in both volumes, Perrens was the first to give a clear, well-ordered, and ample account of all the events of Savonarola's life. The work contains many strange features, and at times it is a bit puzzling to discover exactly what the author thought of the friar's activities. He gives the impression that he is trying to avoid all issues, and many times gives a mere explanation, which does not satisfy. Because of this attitude, there are many contradictions. After praising the friar for some characteristic virtue, the author immediately proceeds to relate some incident in which this virtue is decidedly absent. All this tends to increase the reader's uncertainty.

In the second volume, M. Perrens gives many extracts from Savonarola's sermons and writings, but very often omits a criticism. Undoubtedly he has proved the inflexible orthodoxy of Fra Girolamo, but many times declares himself incapable of judging his doctrines. "Pour tout ce qui touche au dogme, le devoir d'un profane est de s'abstenir." Then defeating his own purpose, he refers the reader to Rudelbach, and inserts a chapter from this author's work in his appendix. Does it not seem strange for an author after frankly admitting his incompetence in such matters, to refer the reader to the expositions of another Protestant author?

In the light of modern criticism, and in view of the progress made since his time, the work of Perrens assumes added weight and importance. Almost every subsequent writer praises his work and quotes his opinions. It is, as far as we know, the only complete and impartial history of Savonarola which France has contributed to Savonarola literature. In England at the time of its appearance, it hardly met with due appreciation. But this may be explained by the fact that Englishmen dislike to scan Italian life through French glasses. Villari, whose work appeared six years later, accuses Perrens of having no clear grasp of his theme, and no definite view of the personage he tries to describe. Père Bayonne takes his countryman to task for many historical errors, as well as for contradictory statements.

A French rationalist, Perrens, has handed down to posterity a critique of the friar's life as seen through the eyes of one not of the Catholic faith. There is no doubt that his conclusions have influenced not a little the writings of Pastor, Lucas, and De Roo, as well as many ardent admirers and modern protagonists of the Florentine reformer.

## III.

In England about this time, 1853, there appeared a work rather singular in purpose and individual in its presentation, *The Life and Martyrdom of Savonarola,* in two volumes, published in London. The author, R. R. MADDEN, was born in Ireland in 1798, but was educated in England and on the Continent. An intensely patriotic Irishman of the Roman Catholic faith, he

had spent most of his life in England, and was a prolific writer. Being a determined opponent of the union of Church and State, it was his desire to manifest to the world the calamitous results to religion and its ministers from such an amalgamation. He believed this to be particularly evident in the unfortunate career of Savonarola, whom he regarded as the great Christian martyr of the fifteenth century. Desiring, then, to do justice to the friar, he maintained that a true and faithful account of him could be had only in his numerous compositions, sermons, homilies, moral treatises, revelations, and commentaries on the Sacred Writings. Madden makes Savonarola the exponent of his own opinions, purposes, and methods of aiming at their accomplishment. Though he seeks to be impartial, his book is the work of an ardent admirer and enthusiast. He advances many of his own opinions, but they are shaded almost entirely by his theory on Church and State. Many original documents on this subject are found in both volumes.

Taking advantage of the extensive inedited correspondence of Fra Girolamo, recently brought to light by Padre Marchese, this forms the principal background of Madden's researches. In fact, the Italian Dominican is his main support. Madden does not in the least suspect the authenticity of Burlamacchi's *Vita Latina*, and quotes this biography of the friar along with that of Pico della Mirandola. Considering the contemporary history of Florence and Italy, the author depends to a large extent upon Guicciardini's *Istoria d'Italia*, Nardi's *Historia della Città de Firenze*, Machiavelli, and the *Memoirs* of Philip de Commines. Madden vigorously opposes the opinion that Savonarola was a precursor of Luther, and takes exception to the views of Dr. Karl Hase, expressed in his *New Prophets*, (Leipzig, 1851).

In the appendix, there are several inedited documents; also a chapter from the *Diary* of JOHN BURCHARD, the Master of Ceremonies of Alexander VI, entitled: *Relations of Church and State, and their influences in the Pontificate of Alexander VI.* Madden seems over-anxious to attribute his own views to Savonarola, and his work has not made a lasting impression on subsequent writers. None quote his opinion, and very few refer to his work. Pasquale Villari, whose work appeared a few years later, in 1859, and who is one of the most prominent of Savona-

rola's biographers, declares that Madden's work is brimful of mistakes. A striking example of this can best be seen in the following: Madden, in his desire to show the relentless activity of Savonarola tells us that after preaching in the Church of Santa Maria del Fiore, he also preached in the Duomo on the same day, whereas these are one and the same church. We are, however, indebted to Madden for a material translation of a hymn in honor of Our Lady, entitled *Mary the Star of the Sea*, written by Savonarola during a plague in Florence. The author has also given translations of the treatises *On the Rule of Florence*, *On Prayer*, and *On the Our Father*, as well as several of the friar's hymns.

## IV.

Shortly after the appearance of Marchese, Perrens, and Madden, a two-volume work was published in Florence by Pasquale VILLARI, entitled *La Storia di Girolamo Savonarola e suoi tempi*, (1859). This biography was the result of many years of patient research, and has since held an enviable position among the numerous works on Savonarola. Villari had passed the greater portion of his career in Florence, and was intimately associated with its political and intellectual life. As a consequence, he was well equipped to write a history of the republic. As he remarks in his preface, the short but eventful career of Savonarola aroused his interest and impelled him to undertake a complete and scientific biography. From his intimate knowledge of Florentine history, he was firmly convinced that the part played by Savonarola in the events of the century closing the Middle Ages, and initiating the dawn of modern civilization, was as great as it was unrecognized. The almost total absence of any truly impartial work hitherto undertaken with this object in view, determined Villari to enter upon a thorough investigation of anything and everything relating to Savonarola. Fully conscious, moreover, of the many errors of his predecessors, he confined his researches to contemporary writers, the works of Savonarola, and original documents. From contemporary biographies Villari selected the works of Pacifico Burlamacchi and Pico della Mirandola. Several years later, in 1877, Leopold Von

Ranke wrote an essay in the *Historisch-Biografische Studien*, the purpose of which was to disprove the authenticity of these two principal sources of the life-history of Savonarola. Von Ranke in his article proves conclusively that these biographies were deliberate forgeries, and the composition of one man. We shall consider more in detail these conclusions of Von Ranke when we examine his work. Villari attempts to refute this charge in the preface to his new edition (1888) but he seems to betray a lack of confidence in the defense which he offers. After giving his reasons for rejecting the conclusions of Von Ranke, Villari contends that, even though Von Ranke be right, we could dispense with these two biographies and glean all the facts necessary from other chronicles and documents. Several other inedited biographies were equally utilized by Villari in his researches; those worthy of mention are the works of Fra MARCO DELLA CASA, Fra PLACIDO CINOZZI, and P. SERAFINO RAZZI, now preserved in the Riccardian Library and the Convent of San Marco in Florence.

The most important contribution of Villari to the history of Savonarola was the discovery of new documents. Extremely interested in the trial of the three friars, he set out purposely to find new data, which he felt sure existed, but had escaped the diligence of others. His efforts were amply rewarded by the unearthing of the manuscript records of the second and third trials, as well as a report of Savonarola's companions, Fra Silvestro and Fra Domenico. This discovery aroused much curiosity at the time, and enkindled a spark of interest in the fate of the Florentine reformer. Villari then discovered two manuscripts long believed to be lost, one of Fra Benedetto, the other an *Apologia* of Lorenzo Violi, a Florentine who had copied all of Savonarola's sermons as they were preached. Aside from these inedited manuscripts, Villari made a painstaking study of Savonarola's letters and unpublished writings. Hitherto no one had undertaken a close study of the marginal notes of Savonarola on the Bible. Villari realized their importance, and is credited with being the first scholar to analyze them. It was in this connection that he published in Florence, with the assistance of E. CASANOVA a volume entitled *Scelta di Prediche e Scritti di Fra*

*Girolamo Savonarola—con nuovi documenti intorno alla sua vita.* (1898).

A noteworthy feature of Villari's work is the attention devoted to contemporaneous history. His descriptions and details are intensely interesting, based for the most part on the accounts of NARDI, MACHIAVELLI, and GUICCIARDINI, who were contemporaries of the friar, and have since become famous for their histories of Florence and Italy. Having previously written a *History of Florence,* Villari was well qualified to select the truth from these scholars. He studied their writings in the light of the *Pratiche* or drafts of the speeches delivered in the Florentine Council Chamber. Not wishing to stop there, he interpreted these drafts by a close study of the private letters of individuals and the secret reports of spies and envoys.

It is difficult for the historian with a thesis to avoid the character of a party pleader, and Pasquale Villari has not entirely avoided this pitfall. Writing at times as an advocate for his hero, Villari has the grave fault of being unable to appreciate the position of his hero's opponents, and invariably imputes to them the worst of motives. Not being a Catholic, he sees little good in Alexander VI, and occasionally is rather severe in his criticism. He was, perhaps, ill-advised in prejudicing the question under discussion by the introduction of fresh statistics regarding the number of the Pope's children. But Professor Villari is at his best whenever his hero can be detached from his surroundings and treated as an isolated psychological study. Thus it is natural that he should be most open to criticism when the field is widest, as for example, when Savonarola is brought into hostility toward the Pope. When we consider Villari in the light of later historians, we can readily perceive the powerful influence of his work in determining their conclusions. Almost everyone who has since entered upon a study of Savonarola respects the integrity and admits the importance of Villari's work, and not a few quote him as an authority. It would consume too much space to single out individual authors, since most of them pay their highest compliments to his unique endeavors. Louis von Pastor quotes him again and again to prop up some of his conclusions and it is Paolo Luotto's contention that Pastor copied profusely from Villari in writing his chapter on Savona-

rola. More recent historians, such as Proctor, Lucas, O'Neil, Schnitzer, and De Roo quote Villari indefinitely, although at times they differ with him on many issues.

In 1888 an English translation was published in Florence by Linda Villari, thereby giving the English-speaking world the benefit of his profound research. In the preface to this edition the author gives a very useful, and at the same time an adequate historiography of Savonarola literature, that of the nineteenth century being particularly helpful. Villari deserves the thanks of many for his labors in the exposition of Savonarola's literary and oratorical activity; for it was he who took the tide at its turn, when the friar had become well-nigh a derelict of history.

## V.

Our next consideration is of two historians of the papacy whose works have attracted widespread attention and comment, LEOPOLD VON RANKE and MANDELL CREIGHTON. Both were non-Catholics, and their opinions were written in an impartial and impersonal spirit. Von Ranke has very little to say of Savonarola in his *History of the Popes*, but in a volume of *Historische-Biografische Studien* he contributed an historical essay entitled *Savonarola und die Florentinische Republik gegen des 15 Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1877). This article could not be called a biography, since it does not consider any of the friar's works, but the narrative is very interesting and scientific, despite its terseness and brevity. Von Ranke bases his study upon previous works, published documents, and some of the old chronicles. Yet in his remarkably characteristic style, he discusses a new feature which is extremely vital to all questions on Savonarola. In 1782, an Italian historian, Rastrelli, seriously questioned the authenticity of two ancient biographies, those of Pico della Mirandola and of Burlamacchi, declaring them to be forgeries. No one at the time was interested enough to follow up this accusation, and it was permitted to lie dormant until the illustrious professor of Berlin investigated these earlier claims. Centering his attention at first upon Pico della Mirandola, Ranke contends that this biography lacks genuine historic value. The reason advanced is that Pico did not write until after the seige

of Florence in 1530, at a time when Savonarola's followers, the Piagnoni, were once again in power. Pico simply collected various legends then prevalent and published them in book form. But Von Ranke proves that the *Vita Latina* of Pacifico Burlamacchi could not possibly have been written by him. Burlamacchi died in 1519, and in his biography many events following his death are recorded. In fact, there are several allusions to the year 1566. Naturally, the appearance of such charges proceeding from an historian as skilful and capable as Von Ranke influenced the researches of interested historians. They were stunned at first by the forcefulness of the evidence. Many admit the truth of Von Ranke's decisions, but attempt to offer some counter-explanation. Villari does not admit the charges, at least absolutely, and weakly tries to refute them. Had Von Ranke written his essay in Florence, Villari declares, he would have arrived at a very different conclusion, and would have been less prompt to reject the two biographies. Villari maintains that each author has a distinct and indisputable historic value of his own, and that the two cannot be reduced to a single biography. Yet there is no doubt that Von Ranke completely shattered the fabric upon which the facts of Savonarola's life rest. Since his time authors have made less frequent use of Burlamacchi's work, and all without exception employ considerable caution when they do use it.

## VI.

In England a member of the Established Church, the Right Reverend MANDELL CREIGHTON, undertook the extremely delicate task of writing a *History of the Papacy During the Reformation.* This work appeared at London, in 1887, and the author, perhaps as a reward, was elevated to the Bishopric of London. In the third volume entitled *The Italian Princes,* Creighton gives a very fair and impartial estimate of Savonarola's career and his connection with the Papacy. The author bases most of his information on the *Nuovi Documenti* of GHERARDI, together with the documents of Marchese, Bayonne, and Perrens. His contemporary sources include Nardi, Landucci, and Machiavelli. Creighton has succeeded in justifying both the

Pope and the friar without detriment to either party. As far as he is concerned, Savonarola can in no way be allied with Luther and his party twenty years later, since Savonarola taught nothing contrary to the accepted doctrines of the Church. The friar never denied the Papal headship, which fact, Creighton holds, is evident from his submissive acceptance of the Plenary Indulgence granted him on the scaffold by Alexander. Justifying the Pope's conduct, Creighton declares that it is unjust to represent Alexander as the chief author of Savonarola's ruin; he was duped by the many enemies of the friar. Openly disagreeing with Villari, Creighton says the Pope refused permission for the Ordeal, and considers Villari's assumption as entirely against the evidence.

Although Creighton has contributed nothing new to the history of the friar's life, yet by his exalted position in the Established Church, and by his religious opinions he has overcome much prejudice manifested toward both the Pope and the Friar, principally by Protestants; he has likewise proved the orthodoxy of Savonarola's doctrines and the latter's submission to the Holy See.

## VII.

At the request of Père Ceslas Bayonne, whose work we shall next consider, a noteworthy compilation of existing documents and letters was made by Cavaliere GHERARDI, a professor in the Archives of Florence. *Nuovi Documenti* was published in Florence in 1876, and consists of three parts: first, the genealogical tree of Savonarola's family by Cittadella, with additions and a bibliography; second, the correction of documents made by Père Bayonne, and increased by the labors of Gherardi; and third, discussions on disputed points, chiefly on chronological questions relating to Savonarola's life, concerning which Gherardi is not in accord with others, including Villari. In this latter group the most important, perhaps, are the dates of Savonarola's first and second arrivals at Florence. Besides the bibliographical study, there are in all about twenty-six new documents, among which the most interesting are letters relating to the union of the Convents at Fiesole, Pisa, and San Gimignano with San

Marco; the long passage from Parenti; a letter from Guglielma della Stufa to her husband on the preaching of Fra Domenico de Ponzo; notes of the expenditures incurred by the government for the Ordeal by Fire and the Execution. From these last-named reports one gets the impression that a splendid celebration was had. These *Nuovi Documenti* have thrown new light especially upon the negotiations between the Florentine government and the Papal court; and the correspondence of the three Florentine diplomatic agents, Becchi, Bracci, and Bonsi, reveals new information on the union of the Tuscans with the Roman Congregation, on the suspension of Savonarola from preaching, on his excommunication, and on the attitude of the Pope to the Ordeal by Fire.

Everyone recognizes the incalculable merit and value of Gherardi's labors, especially their influence on later writings. All have a word of praise for his collection, and there is no work appearing after 1876 which does not take into consideration the *Nuovi Documenti.* Villari's Italian edition did not benefit by them, but in the English translation reference is frequently made to them. One of the most important contributions of Professor Gherardi is the correction of many dates placed by other authors on sermons, briefs, etc. The Jesuit Father Lucas says that "this collection is the most valuable of all that have yet appeared, containing documents derived from various sources which throw light on every stage of Savonarola's career."

## VIII.

Savonarola has had no more ardent, more enthusiastic admirer and defender since his ignominious death on the gallows than the French Dominican, Père Ceslas Bayonne. Having spent an entire life-time in study and research on the life and problems of Savonarola's career, Père Bayonne was enraged at the many calumnies and reproaches hurled at his beloved hero. He collected, translated, and edited three volumes of Savonarola's religious works which were published in Paris in 1879: *Oeuvres Spirituelles choisies de Jérôme Savonarole, et traduites sur le texte original.* Responsible to a great extent for the appearance of Gherardi's *Nuovi Documenti,* he published a bi-

ography in the same year, entitled *Etude sur Jèrome Savonarole d'après des nouveaux documents*, (Paris, 1879). These were based on the *Nuovi Documenti* and other original documents which he had collected during his long preliminary studies. This book enkindled the wrath of many who were antagonistic to the fame of Savonarola, and after a short period the book was withdrawn by his superiors in deference to the extreme sensibilities of certain French prelates. It was Father Bayonne's purpose to prove the saintliness and prophetic power of Savonarola, and the entire work is centered around this object. The first part is devoted to Savonarola's life, his mission, and his connection with Alexander VI, which ultimately led to his death. The second part considers his memory; the cult rendered to him; and, to strengthen this, the testimonies of many Popes and Saints in favor of Savonarola's orthodoxy and his virtues are added. Because of Père Bayonne's almost limitless researches and indefatigable zeal, the number of his authorities is legion. For Savonarola's life and times, the French Dominican made use of the biographies of Pico and Burlamacchi; a biography written in 1782 by the Dominican, Barsanti, is likewise mentioned, *Della Storia de Padre Girolamo Savonarola.* The author equally availed himself of almost everything which had preceded him; among Savonarola's contemporaries are listed the works of Capelli, Landucci, Philip de Commines, and the Franciscan, Pulinari. Modern authors were not overlooked, and the writings of Meier, Perrens, and Villari are taken up and commented upon at length. Père Bayonne made an extensive study of the esteem with which learned and saintly men regarded Savonarola, and there are many quotations from St. Philip Neri's *Apologia di Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, (Florence, 1564), and the *Vita di M. A. Buonarotti, by Aurelio Gotti*, (Florence, 1875) not to mention the writings of St. Catherine de Ricci and others.

Many authors who had preceded Bayonne are taken to task for loose or unfounded statements expressed in their writings; among them are Karl Hase, in his endeavor to prove Savonarola a precursor of Luther, and against whom Père Bayonne quotes the words of SISMONDI, in his *Histoire de la Renaissance des progres et de la decadence de la liberté en Italie.* Perrens is equally a victim of Bayonne's wrath, principally because of his

denial of Savonarola's prophetic spirit. Even Villari does not escape. In a critique of Madden's contribution, Père Bayonne rigorously refutes his calumny that Savonarola was the first hero who fought for the separation of Church and State, as well as for liberty of conscience, and for seeing in him only the enemy of temporal power.

Examining the effect of Bayonne's writings on later authors, as seen at this late date, one is forced to recognize the powerful influence which the French Dominican has wielded in Savonarola's favor. His work is the object of unstinted praise on the one side, and of savage criticism on the other. Even Villari who had almost canonized Savonarola in his own estimation, does not spare Bayonne. Villari's work was too early to benefit by Bayonne's researches and conclusion; but in a later edition he accuses Bayonne of according too much time and attention to miracles and prophecies; and declares that Bayonne's work is of scant historical value, since he had a fixed idea of writing the life of a saint and prophet. Pastor, in his *Beurtheilung* absolutely rejects Bayonne's *Etude*, because its avowed object was to provoke agitation in favor of the canonization of Savonarola. Such is the reward accorded one whose sole purpose in life was the thorough vindication of a brother-religious who wore the same habit and followed the same rule as himself. Death, however, prevented the continuation of Bayonne's noble work.

## IX.

When His Holiness, Leo XIII, threw open the doors of the Vatican Archives to the use of students, it was apparent that the history of the popes would have to be rewritten. Hitherto students were dependent almost entirely upon the works of Von Ranke, Burckhardt, Voigt, Gregorovius, and Creighton, historians who did not have access to the Vatican Archives. Consequently the task devolved upon a German writer, Dr. LUDWIG PASTOR, little known at the time. Pastor was born at Aix-La-Chappelle, in 1854, and later studied at the Universities of Bonn, Berlin, and Vienna. When a boy he came under the influence of the great German historian, Janssen. It was Janssen who interested Pastor in his historical studies, bringing his attention to

Von Ranke's *Popes of the Last Four Centuries.* Having read Von Ranke, Pastor became thoroughly imbued with the ambition to write an authoritative history of the popes. When he came to Rome for archival studies in 1878, Pastor, through the influence of Cardinals Nino and Francelini received free access to the Vatican Archives. And in this way began his monumental work *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages.* Pastor's volumes have been translated into English, appearing at intervals from 1891 to the present. We are here concerned only with the parts devoted to Savonarola and Alexander VI, viz. volume V, pp. 181 to 226, and volume VI, pp. 1 to 54. From the very start, Pastor takes issue against the friar in defense of the Pope, and regards Savonarola as essentially a rigorist of the type of Tertullian, to whom due moderation was impossible. Pastor has contributed nothing new to the history of the friar, but simply borrows and quotes profusely from authors who have devoted entire volumes to this period. Since he has a broader field, and the Popes as his particular object, Pastor may seem justified in his attitude. But it does seem strange that he should rely upon and support solely the opinions of Protestant historians, and of others unfavorable to Savonarola. Perhaps it would be different were he to center all his efforts on this particular aspect of the question. Discussing the political situation in Florence at the time of Savonarola's activities, Pastor quotes the opinions of several contemporary writers, principally those of Nardi, Guicciardini, and Landucci. He purposely avoided the writings of Burlamacchi, since, as we have already pointed out, Von Ranke had previously questioned their authenticity. The influence of Villari on Pastor's treatment of the life and writings of Savonarola is very apparent, even though Pastor differs with him considerably when the Pope is under consideration. Pastor, moreover, vehemently opposes Villari's conclusions on the Trial by Fire, principally because Villari follows the account of Burlamacchi. And on this score, Pastor denies that the Pope gave his approval, taking refuge in the *Nuovi Documenti* of Gherardi. Since this Ordeal proved to be the turning point in Savonarola's career, becoming, as it were, his Waterloo, most authors devote particular attention to it. There is considerable difference of opinion,

however, as to the Pope's approval; consequently, the reader is left to choose for himself the most plausible. The writings of Perrens, Gherardi, Burckhardt, Pellegrini, and Von Ranke are also frequently cited, chiefly to portray the status of Savonarola in the eyes of modern critics. When Pastor considers Florentine life, he does not seem to take sufficiently into account the wide gulf which separates the child-like enthusiasm of the people of Italy from the comparatively undemonstrative disposition of the Teutonic races. Referring briefly to the contention of some that Savonarola's name appears on the Index to the work of Benedict XIV, *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Canonizatione,* Pastor denies this outright, with no explanation other than a reference to Grisar. We shall mention this Index later on. Pastor regards Savonarola throughout as an extremist and visionary, and denies both his prophetic power, and his so-called Divine Commission. Had Savonarola adopted more temperate methods towards the people of Florence, Pastor believes, his success would have been more lasting.

All recognize the powerful influence of Pastor on the historiography of the papacy of the last four centuries. His discoveries, and the results of his learned researches have completely revised our knowledge and ideas of the Popes during those troublesome days preceding and during the Protestant Revolt. Since the writings of Rudelbach and Meier, many have looked upon Savonarola as the precursor of Luther; and John Addington Symonds maintains that "all Savonarola lacked was Luther's audacious originality." Pastor, however, entirely dissipates this false notion, and points to Savonarola as a devoted, but wayward, son of the Church.

After the publication of the third volume of Pastor on Alexander VI and Savonarola, a great furore broke out among Savonarola's admirers, especially among those within his own Order. And rightly so, for Pastor, in seeking the justification of the Papacy was compelled, according to his conclusions, to deal harshly with the friar. It was about this time that enormous preparations were under way for the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of Savonarola's death. Books, articles, and pamphlets were being written on a large scale when the appearance of Pastor's conclusions aroused a violent protest from

every quarter. Among the most prominent was a substantial volume written by Dr. PAOLA LUOTTO, a professor at the Royal Lyceum of Faenza. For many years Luotto had taken an energetic part against the friar of Florence, but for some reason not mentioned, he determined to re-examine critically the friar's history and writings. The result of twenty-two years of tireless labor and research was a complete repudiation of his former attitude, so that now he is listed among Savonarola's most enthusiastic admirers and supporters. Because of Pastor's authority, the faith of many in Savonarola was completely shattered, while others were confirmed in their belief. Luotto's book was, therefore, a direct answer to Dr. Pastor, and at the same time an apology for the friar's life and actions. A volume of some six hundred pages, *Il Vero Savonarola e il Savonarola di L. Pastor*, was published in Florence in 1897. In the preface Luotto says: "The result of our study is a persuasion that the life of this man was replete with virtue, and we could also say adorned with holiness, if we had not in this instance to await the judgment of the Church, for which he (Savonarola) lived and died." There is no bibliographical preface, for it was the intention of the author to insert this in a later work, which was, however, prevented by an untimely death.

The first part of the work is devoted to a refutation of Pastor. Luotto takes up the accusations of the Professor of Innsbruck one by one, examines and answers them. He accuses Pastor of "illogical deductions" and "gratuitous assertions"; of having given "false interpretations," and of writing at times in an un-Catholic spirit. Luotto says it is evident that Pastor wrote without having studied or read the works of Savonarola, and without sufficient preparation for the task he had undertaken, wherefore he has presented us "with an imaginary Savonarola, and not a portrait of the real man." When Pastor condemns Savonarola, it is the creature of his imagination he condemns, not the friar. Accusing Pastor of plagiarism, Luotto cites different passages from Villari, and places them by the side of Pastor, in an attempt to prove that the latter copied profusely from Villari.

In the second part of the book Luotto treats of different phases of Savonarola's interior life, his various devotions, his

love for the Blessed Sacrament, his prophetic spirit, etc. He then considers the friar in his relations with the members of his Order, the Florentine people and government, the Pope, and the Church. Since it is his object to describe the life of Savonarola and his doctrines; also to show the harmony of his doctrine and his life, and especially his harmony with authority, above all with Alexander VI, Luotto familiarized himself with the friar's writings, both published and inedited. He made use of Pico della Mirandola's *Life of Savonarola,* the copy furnished by Quetif. Not wishing to overlook later discoveries and researches, Luotto consulted the works of Villari and Bayonne; and also studied the new documents published by Guasti, Capelli, Gherardi, and the Dominican, Padre Marchese. In the appendix there are three valuable inedited documents.

On the whole, Luotto's work is a monument of critical acumen and patient research. Of course, being such an ardent admirer of the subject of his work, his conclusions have not had much force with some contemporary historians. But he has at least thrown some doubt on the work of Pastor, and has convinced many that the last word has not yet been uttered on the life and work of the Florentine reformer. Luotto's work has been praised by many clever and astute historians, including Gherardi and Schnitzer; it is likewise quoted by almost every subsequent writer on Savonarola.

## X.

A year after the appearance of Luotto's book, Dr. Pastor publised a brochure in the form of a response to Luotto, entitled *Zur Beurtheilung Savonarolas,* (1898). This work was translated into French by Furcy Raynaud, bearing the title *Contribution a l'histoire de Savonarole, Reponse aux Critiques.* An entire essay could be devoted to this intensely interesting controversy, but considering our limited space, as well as the purpose of this essay, we shall treat it briefly, giving a mere outline of the critics taken up by Pastor, their work, and Pastor's reply, mentioning the most prominent among his authorities.

This pamphlet of Pastor is small, containing only 130 pages. In the Introduction he announces the purpose of his work, his

authorities in condemning Savonarola, and finally a reproduction of the last page of his chapter on Savonarola in the *History of the Popes*, which summarizes his final judgment on the question. He cites many passages from reviews of his third volume. These criticisms appeared in periodicals all over the world, and are particularly eulogistic of the chapter on Savonarola. In spite of this testimony, his work has been subjected to much harsh criticism, the authors of which, Pastor declares, have a personal interest in the glorification of the unfortunate Dominican, due, perhaps, to the approach of the Fourth Centenary of Savonarola's death. This pamphlet confines itself to the work of four critics: ERNEST COMMER, JOHN PROCTOR, LUDOVICO FERRETTI, and PAOLO LUOTTO. The first three receive but a passing notice, from page 22 to page 48. Luotto, on the contrary, is thoroughly analyzed in the remaining pages, that is from page 48 to page 130.

Dr. Commer is professor of theology in the University of Breslau. In the eleventh number of the *Annales de Philosophie et de Theologie Speculative* appearing in 1897, he published a study on Savonarola. Among the several charges hurled against Pastor, one is aimed principally at his sources, the first of which is the scandalous journal of Johann Burchard, Master of Ceremonies to Alexander VI. In answer to this charge, Pastor maintains that he has cited not a single line from Burchard, but suspects Commer of confusing the author of a contemporary journal of Alexander with the historian of the Renaissance, Jacob Burckhardt. Regarding his rejection of Burlamacchi, Pastor summons Von Ranke and Schwab to his support; and to upset Commer's implicit faith in Villari, the Professor of Innsbruck quotes the opinions of such historians as Pellegrini, Gaspary, Armstrong, Gothein, and Perrens.

The next two authors to receive attention from Pastor are Father John Proctor, O.P., at that time the Provincial of the Dominicans in England, and Father Ludovico Ferretti, a member of the same Order, and professor of dogma in the Archiepiscopal Seminary at Florence. At the present time Feretti is Commissary of the Holy Office. Father Proctor had published a pamphlet in 1895, *The Dominican Savonarola and the Reformation*, which was a reply to Dr. Farrar, Dean of Canterbury.

Translated into Italian by Father Ferretti, the book appeared at Milan in 1896. The object of the treatise was to prevent the name of Savonarola, venerated by Saints, and defended by veritable historians from falling into the power of romanticists and journalists, and consequently into the hands of French Masonry and of those opposed to the power of the Papacy. The most conspicuous part of the work is devoted to the doctrines of Savonarola, in order to demonstrate the utter incongruity of placing him by the side of Luther and the Protestant Reformers. Pastor does not understand why the author skimmed over a question precisely the most interesting, that of the quarrel of Savonarola and the Pope. Because Father Proctor bases most of his proofs upon the previous work of Père Bayonne, Pastor considers them weak and unconvincing.

A year after the appearance of Proctor, Father Ferretti published a volume entitled *Per la Causa di Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, (Milan, 1897). In this work Ferretti accuses Pastor of numerous and serious errors, which, he says, will be more conclusively demonstrated in a work about to be published by Dr. Luotto. Pastor complains that he has searched in vain for a demonstration of the errors of which he is culpable in his *History of the Popes*. When he considers the sources upon which Ferretti bases his arguments, Pastor contends most vehemently that Ferretti has selected only those who are favorable to the friar, and who proclaim his sanctity.

The remaining pages of Pastor's brochure, that is pages 49 to 130, are given over to the work of Luotto. After a synopsis of the book, Pastor first passes judgment from a general standpoint, and then considers some of the accusations in particular. Seemingly broad and not to the point, Pastor insists that Luotto had for his only object an apology of Savonarola at any price, and the establishment as a positive fact of the sanctity of Savonarola. Time and again Pastor derides Luotto for the length of his book; 625 pages, says the historian of the Papacy, to refute his 58 pages! He then jocosely refers to the frequent repetition of Luotto's desire to be brief. When Luotto calls the attention of Pastor to a few incorrect dates, the German historian willingly admits his mistake, but remarks that these cor-

rections are about all Luotto has registered in his entire 625 pages.

Not having the original documents at hand, it is difficult to judge the relative merits of both contestants. In refuting particular arguments, Pastor merely reiterates his previous conclusions, and repeats at length whole paragraphs from his *History of the Popes,* as well as several lengthy paragraphs from Luotto. When the latter points out several inaccuracies, Pastor throws the blame on his Italian translator, and then sharply reproves Luotto for his failure to use the German edition of the *History of the Popes.* Throughout the entire controversy heated passion is more conspicuous than cold, calm reasoning of facts. Such an attitude was perhaps in no small way responsible for the total failure of the contest, for it seems to have produced meager results, falling short of the original purpose. Those on the side of Pastor have been confirmed in their belief in the integrity and conclusiveness of Pastor's reasoning, while those in the opposite camp are more than ever convinced that Pastor is either prejudiced or in error, and that Savonarola is everything they believe him to be.

We have been unable fully to determine the effect of Pastor's brochure on the minds of those interested in the fate of the Dominican reformer. But in a letter to Padre Ludovico Ferretti, quoted in the *Irish Rosary,* (vol. II, p. 312) the Italian historian Gherardi remarks that Pastor's reply is "a piece of inconclusive reasoning. The charge proved against him by his opponent (Luotto) of not having examined or studied what he ought to have examined and studied, remains intact. New arguments to sustain his opinion, there are none."

## XI.

As a result of this controversy between Pastor and Luotto, another writer HERBERT LUCAS, S.J., entered the field with the express purpose of deciding the relative value of these two judgments. Father Lucas tells us in his Preface that he received for review Dr. Pastor's *Zur Beurtheilung Savonarolas,* and since this was to sit in judgment upon two experts, it was necessary to become thoroughly acquainted with the subject at first hand.

While searching for material to assist him in his work, he was amazed at the enormous mass of contemporary evidence to be had on the subject. Such a plethora of source-material strongly convinced him of the impracticability of his original purpose. A different course of action suggested itself to him, and the controversy between Pastor and Luotto was abandoned. The plan which he finally adopted embraced a simple biography of Savonarola's life, to be followed by an impartial judgment of those actions which had occasioned a divergence of opinion. In order not to retrace the steps of Pastor and Luotto, Lucas examined as much of the evidence as could be had independently of the use made of the documents by these two men. The result of his efforts appeared at intervals in the London *Tablet* from April to December, 1898. But at a later date these articles were carefully revised and published in book form, in 1899.

In gathering his material, Lucas depended to a great extent upon Burlamacchi, Marchese, Villari, Gherardi, Nardi, and the Franciscan, Pulinari; but original documents were his principal concern. A helpful biographical list of ten pages follows the preface. In many respects this work is admirable, and at the same time very different from the pages of Pastor, although at first sight one would be led to think otherwise. One author, in describing the method of Lucas, declares that the learned Jesuit takes away with one hand what he gives with the other, for Lucas insists that pride was the motive of the friar's conduct, and that Savonarola was deluded, as so many men before him and since have been deluded, in the matter of visions and revelations.

Lucas has given a very accurate and detailed account of the Ordeal, based upon the letters of the envoy, Somenzi, and other contemporary documents. Both sides of the question are handled very skilfully, following the diary of Landucci for the Dominican version, and the friar, Pulinari, in exposing the Franciscan side. For the political attitude toward the Ordeal, Lucas follows the accounts of Nardi, Cerretani, and Parenti. The *Vita Latina* of Burlamacchi is quoted, but the reader is warned that here, as elsewhere, his testimony is to be received with caution. This admonition no doubt is due to the conclusions of Von Ranke, which we have considered above.

In a protest towards the end of the book, Lucas quotes a few lines from what he terms "the very latest work on Savonarola which has yet appeared," but does not tell us the name of the author. We have found the lines quoted by Lucas in Father O'Neil's *Jerome Savonarola*, (p. 186) and suspect that the learned Jesuit, along with Pastor, has missed the point at issue. This protest refers to the contention of some historians that Savonarola's name appears on the Index to the work of POPE BENEDICT XIV, *De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Canoniza tione*. Both Lucas and Pastor refute this simply on the testimony of Father Grisar, S.J. Yet several eminent authors whose works we have considered in this essay likewise refer to the Pope's opinion, viz., Perrens, (part I, p. 397), Villari, (vol. II, p. 417); and Schnitzer, (II, p. 891).

The catalogue in question contains three distinct indices; the first is an *Index Locupletissimus rerum notabilium;* the second is listed as an *Index Locupletissimus nominum propriorum, quae in toto opere citantur, exceptis nominibus Sanctorum, Beatorum Dei;* and the wording of the third index is: *Elenchus Sanctorum, Beatorum, Servorum Dei, virorumque aliorum sanctitate venerabilium et illustrium.* It is precisely in this third group that the name of Savonarola appears; and it was this fact which persuaded the authors mentioned above to conclude that Benedict XIV considered Savonarola as worthy of canonization. We briefly refer to this question in passing simply to illustrate the attitude of Lucas toward authors who are in any way favorable to the Florentine friar.

It would be difficult to determine the effect of Lucas's work on Savonarola literature. Most of his conclusions have been anticipated by previous writers. The difference, however, consists in this, that he has adopted from other historians whatever conclusions seemed to him the more plausible. Since there has been no adequate biography of Savonarola as such written in England by an Englishman, this work of Father Lucas affords his countrymen a well-constructed study of the much-misunderstood friar at a time when interest in his life and work is being revived. In this regard, English students, for whom original documents were not accessible, are deeply indebted to the learned Jesuit.

## XII.

Thus far we have considered books and authors solely European, and it may with reason be asked why we have apparently neglected the works of American authors. After careful search and diligent investigation, we have failed to discover any really scientific work on Savonarola written by an American, though there are numberless books and pamphlets which either treat the friar indirectly, or from secondary sources, or are simply compilations from already existing treatises on the subject. This condition may be easily explained if we consider the short space of American historical activity, as well as the distance separating us from the original documents and manuscripts. For our purpose in this essay we have singled out the work of one author, an American Dominican, who devoted many years of his life to the career of his unfortunate brother in St. Dominic. Father J. L. O'NEIL, O.P., after original research in Florence, and other archives and libraries of Europe, published two volumes. The first, *Jerome Savonarola*, appeared in 1898; the second, *Was Savonarola Really Excommunicated?* was printed in Boston, in 1900. Fr. O'Neil intended to follow up his research, but was prevented from doing so by a premature death.

*Jerome Savonarola* is simply a sketch, and was issued in commemoration of the Fourth Centenary of Savonarola's death. The author confesses that he had no notion of presenting the friar in a new light, nor did he write for scholars to whom literature on Savonarola was available. His sole purpose was to afford an adequate study for those to whom most of the works were not accessible. The first part of the book is a narrative of the friar's life, while the second part gives a picture of the man illustrated by his own writings. There is an interesting chapter on the estimates of Catholic and non-Catholic writers, and a valuable appendix with copious quotations from Savonarola's works. Father O'Neil shows a remarkable acquaintance with literature on Savonarola, especially with manuscripts and documents of contemporary writers. He has used the biographies of Pico della Mirandola and Burlamacchi, and maintains that Von Ranke's conclusions mentioned above do not affect the credibility of either one of these "time-honored authorities." The

works of Marchese and Villari are O'Neil's principal sources, but in considering them, particularly Villari, he disagrees on many points.

Father O'Neil's treatment seems to be fairly just and unprejudiced. At times he admits certain accusations brought forth by previous writers; for instance, he admits there was no sacramental confession by Lorenzo de Medici to Savonarola. Regarding the attitude of Alexander VI, O'Neil confesses that the Pope showed considerable patience.

The second publication of Father O'Neil *Was Savonarola Really Excommunicated?* was, in a way, a complement to the first, and was a defense of the friar's conduct. The excommunication of Savonarola is taken up, not as to defects in the briefs, nor as to legal conditions unfulfilled; the reader's attention is simply drawn to the nature of the Pontifical commands and of the censures attached. According to the author's conclusions, the friar did not commit the prohibited acts, and consequently did not render himself amenable to the penalty of excommunication. His authorities are principally the works of Capelli, Gherardi, Villari, Luotto, and Ludovico Ferretti. It is not our intention here to outline his arguments, but simply to mention one or two examples cited. For instance, Savonarola was not removed by his superiors from his office as Prior of San Marco, and moreover, he conferred the habit on, and received the professions of, several novices after the promulgation of the Bull of Excommunication. Again, when Savonarola on the scaffold accepted the Plenary Indulgence granted him by the Pope, no mention was made of absolution from censures, and this fact gives the impression that Alexander did not regard him as really excommunicated.

Father O'Neil quotes the opinion of eminent theologians and canonists, inserting a lengthy list of names in the appendix, together with original letters and inedited documents. As we have said above, O'Neil had no intention of presenting the friar in a new light. His work, however, has drawn the attention of many Americans to the life of Savonarola, and stands out foremost among the books written on this subject in America.

## XIII.

The year 1898 was one of rejoicing for Savonarola's devoted admirers, and apologists. Books and pamphlets appeared at short intervals, inspired, no doubt, by the Centenary Year. But human nature is prone to forget, and when the enthusiasm enkindled by constant remembrances had cooled, Savonarola seemed to be forgotten. From the year 1902 until the present apparently nothing of merit has been done, though from time to time articles touching some particular phase of the friar's career have appeared in periodicals. However true this may be, there was a priest in Germany, Dr. JOSEPH SCHNITZER, whose entire life had been devoted to a study of Savonarola, and who spent the last twenty years in careful preparation for the appearance of his latest work: *Savonarola ein Kulturbild aus der Zeit der Renaissance*, (Munich, 1924). This was not Father Schnitzer's first appearance before the public, for in 1900 he published a book which was translated into Italian under the title *Il Savonarola alla luce della litteratura recentissima*. Again, in 1902, a four-volume work of his was printed in Munich entitled *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte Savonarolas*.

His most recent book is the culmination of all his previous efforts, and entitles him to a high rank among Savonarola's historians. Schnitzer declares that he was led entirely by the consideration of historical truth and justice, sworn to no party directions or tendencies. He displays a deep insight into the literary activity and sermons of the friar, and brings forward all existing literature in his second volume. It is in this part that Schnitzer passes severe criticism on the extreme opponents of Savonarola, which at times becomes very bitter. The author justified his severity by furnishing proof that he was far superior to his opponents in this question, who, he claims, have erred far more against historical truth than the most ardent of Savonarola's admirers. As a result of his penetrating study of sources, and as the fruit of a life's work, Schnitzer draws up in the first volume, the life, in the second, the aspirations of the reformer. Glowing enthusiasm for his hero speaks in every line, and though the author wrote with the importance of an enthusiastic apologist, and with the devotion of an ardent admirer who

almost deifies his hero, nevertheless, his work is very thorough and scientific.

Joined closely to the presentation of Savonarola's life and labors, there is a critical examination of the tendencies of the friar in the second volume. Here Schnitzer draws many charming pictures of Savonarola as a man of prayer, a mystic, a prophet and preacher, a statesman and reformer. The deductions concerning Savonarola in his attitude towards the Renaissance and science, towards art and the artist, are glowing vindications of the friar. The center of gravity in the presentation, however, is contained in the 32nd chapter, where Schnitzer judges Savonarola in his conflict with the Pope, in his position towards ecclesiastical obedience, and the Council, and in his reformatory labors regarding moral and religious jurisdiction. Even in regard to these delicate questions, concerning which Savonarola is most severely attacked and condemned by his adversaries, Schnitzer endeavors to justify him entirely. Speaking for the true friends of Savonarola, Schnitzer closes his work with these words:

> With indelible strokes did the prophet of Florence impress his name on the book of history. If at the time when he raised his voice on high, Adrian IV had occupied the Chair of Peter, instead of Alexander VI, what an entirely different course his history might have taken!

Schnitzer has performed a noteworthy service to the history of Savonarola, and thanks should be rendered him for his thorough work. But it is all the more to be regretted that to the otherwise brilliant presentation, there adheres a certain touch of bitterness which manifests itself especially in the unjust generalization concerning ecclesiastical weaknesses of the time, and in attacks on and taunts at the Church, the Pope, and all the adversaries of the friar. It is, moreover, impossible to agree with Schnitzer when he cites the position of Savonarola in the Church in these words:

> Thus in reality two Christianities opposed each

> other, and hence there was no peace, no reconciliation, but only war for life or death. On the one hand there was the universal, or Church of the Royalty, which enjoyed the possession of all dignity, power, and glory, hence entirely self-possessed and satisfied. On the other hand, there was the Reformed Christianity of Savanorola, which was only able to keep itself in existence by diligent activity, and which brought to light the sins and failings of the Universal Church and its actual representatives. Indeed, they were greatly irritated by such actions.

Ecclesiastical corruption was, indeed, a fact, but the thesis that the corruption was general or universal is unhistorical. It is, moreover, entirely unjust to Savonarola to look for a distinction between the Reform Church and the Universal Church. The Christianity of Savonarola was that of the entire Church, and he was well able to distinguish between matter and persons. But Schnitzer capably justifies Savanorola from the tendency to make him the precursor of Luther. When adversaries attempted to put him down as a heretic, but did not succeed, Savonarola proved himself to be perfectly orthodox in matters of Faith and discipline, for example in his conception of the Papacy and of authority, in spite of his attacks upon the wearer of the tiara. Consequently, no distinction can be placed between Savonarola and the Universal Church.

The attacks of Schnitzer on the Dominican Order seem unjustified, in the face of testimony to the contrary, for Savonarola had many friends and adherents among his brother religious. Then, too, his enemies accuse the Order of its great veneration for the friar of Florence. The question as to whether Savonarola ought to receive a place on the altars of the Church, Schnitzer should leave for the Church to decide.

We cannot yet judge the influence of Schnitzer on Savonarola literature, for his evidence has yet to be weighed in the scales of modern criticism. But we feel confident that his labors will be amply rewarded, though it could be wished that the eminent German historian had been less bitter toward the Church and her ministers.

## XIV.

The most recent contribution to the history of Savonarola is contained in a five-volume work of the Rt. Rev. Monsignor PETER DE ROO, entitled, *Material for a History of Pope Alexander VI, His Relatives, and His Time*, (New York, 1924). No other pope has been the object of such ferocious attacks as Roderigo de Borgia, known in history as Pope Alexander VI. Very few historians have attempted to defend him, not even excepting Ludwig Pastor. Some forty-five years ago, an Italian, ANDREA LEONETTI, published a defense in his *Papa Alessandro VI*, (Bologna, 1880), but it was not accepted by scholars, and made no widespread impression. De Roo now appears, and presents his own more elaborate and detailed defense of Alexander, based on a study of additional documents, especially in the Archives of the Vatican. It is the author's purpose not only to show that Alexander was an excellent pope, but also to prove him a man of good moral character. If his thesis be true, then the evidence thus far adduced on Savonarola must necessarily be re-examined and evaluated in conformity with recent developments. However, it is not our purpose here critically to examine or analyze Mons. De Roo's evidence, but simply to state his attitude toward Savonarola, and how the latter has fared in his hands.

In the third volume termed *Supreme Pontiff*, De Roo sets aside three chapters, 95 pages in all, to the history of Savonarola and his relations with Alexander. De Roo first makes very clear the fact that Alexander gave many evidences of zeal to preserve the integrity of religious doctrine, to foster the unity of the Church, and to uphold ecclesiastical discipline. It was this eagerness which compelled the Pontiff to proceed against Savonarola. Since the appearance of Modesto Rastrelli's biography in 1782, there has been none so bitter, none so ferocious in its opposition to Savonarola as this work of De Roo. Not a single act of the friar from the time of his arrival in Florence until his ignominious death receives a kind interpretation, a friendly word of explanation. According to De Roo, he was actuated by purely selfish motives, and his ruin was due principally to an uncontrolled spirit of pride. We mention this fact

here simply to show the attitude manifested by De Roo toward Savonarola, and how his treatment differs from that of others whom we have considered.

De Roo gives as the first of the briefs despatched to Savonarola by the Pope one bearing the date March 18, 1495. This letter is not mentioned by other writers, and consequently, what De Roo styles the second brief corresponds to the first in other authors. Due to the labors of Gherardi, July 21, 1495 has been definitely established as the correct date, although Pastor, who follows Villari, gives July 25. Commenting upon Savonarola's response to this brief, De Roo questions the sincerity of his excuses, calling them puerilities, and an open refusal to obey. In fact, all of Savonarola's replies, according to De Roo are subterfuges pure and simple, offering misleading explanations and abounding in self-contradictions. Why De Roo continually refers to Savonarola as a "monk," we do not know, since there is a sharp distinction between the meaning of "monk" and "friar."

Burlamacchi is frequently referred to by De Roo as an "anonymous biographer," and his charge, later renewed by Lucas and Villari, that Savonarola was offered the Cardinalate is stoutly denied. To sustain this, De Roo quotes a letter from Pietro Delphini to the effect that Savonarola had loftier designs in mind, being extremely anxious for the Archbishopric of Florence. De Roo also maintains, against the opinion of many, that Savonarola saw an official copy of the Bull *Cum Saepe* before it was published in Florence, on June 18, 1497. And this, he says, explains why Savonarola wrote to the Pope on May 22nd.

Another prominent feature of De Roo's work is his account of the trial of the three friars. Contrary to the opinion of most other authors, De Roo contends that the trial was conducted in an orderly fashion, and according to strict legal procedure. He pays glowing tribute to the integrity, character, and saintliness of Joachim Turriano, Master General of the Dominicans, and to Dr. Remolino, both of whom were the papal commissaries at the trial. In this connection, De Roo violently rebukes Lucas, when he writes: "no one has put on record a single word in favor of Remolino." To prove the injustice of this statement, De Roo adds an extract from a letter of the Seigniory to the Pontiff, thanking the latter for Remolino's services during the process.

Both Lucas and Villari are frequently upbraided for their attitude toward the Pope, whom they seem to make the culprit and not the friar.

In summing up his conclusions, De Roo declares that Savonarola set an example for Protestants, uttering more than one heretical error, and distinguishing between the living Church of Rome and the Universal Invisible Church. Savonarola's panegyrists are then taken up one by one, with a line or two in refutation of each. The author finally concludes that "Savonarola was not a saint, neither was he a Protestant martyr; he was an ardent politician and condemned on political grounds."

Whether the evidence brought forth by De Roo will completely revolutionize our ideas on Alexander and Savonarola, remains to be seen. The crucial point, however, centers around the authenticity of documents found at Madrid in the Archives of the Dukes of Osuna, and published by Thuasne. Upon these are based the conclusions of Pastor, who accepts them as making any defense of Alexander forever impossible. But De Roo firmly contends that these as well as certain other documents in the Vatican Archives are forgeries, concocted by Alexander's enemies. This is the situation at present, and we look forward with keen interest to further developments in the future.

JOSEPH URBAN BERGKAMP, O.P., M.A.,
*Washington, D. C.*

# WHAT THE AMERICAN HAS GOT OUT OF THE MELTING POT FROM THE CATHOLIC[1]

When Columbus, looking for a short cut to India, touched land in his voyage of discovery, he thought he had reached it. His mistake led to the bestowal of the name of West Indies on the land of his discovery and the name of Indians on the inhabitants of it. Subsequently, Americus Vespuccius gave his name to the entire western hemisphere by describing the northern continent along the Gulf of Mexico and the Atlantic Ocean and making a drawing of the land along which he claimed he had sailed. After some time, when the newly discovered country began to be talked about in Europe, all of it was called America and the name of North America was given to the northern continent and the name of South America to the southern continent.

The name Indian clung to the natives of the new hemisphere but did not attach itself to settlers from Europe. As the various parts were colonized by emigrants from Europe, names were given them by the people back home or selected by the settlers themselves. On the northern continent there came into existence a New Spain, a New France, a New England and Canada. In the southern definite areas took the names of Brazil, Argentine Republic, Chili, Peru, Bolivia and so on. Through the political changes in Europe and the organization of the United States of America, some of the names of areas on the northern continent were lost.

In most parts of the new hemisphere the names of the areas gradually attached themselves to the inhabitants. In this way new peoples with new names came into existance. In South America we have the Brazilians, the Chilians, the Argentinians, the Ecuadorians and so on. In North America we have the Canadians, the Americans, the Mexicans, the Cubans and other smaller peoples. The name American was more or less subconsciously assigned by the world to the inhabitants of the United States of America when these states organized themselves into a common people with a central government. This name

1 Paper read at Fifth Annual Meeting Catholic Historical Association, Philadelphia, December 29-31, 1924.

is now so well fixed that when Americans are spoken of in any part of the world or in literature every one recognizes that the inhabitants of the United States of America are referred to.

As a people the Americans for the most part are a miscegenation of many races and in a less part a mixture of immiscegenable races more or less co-ordinated by education, mode of life and government. Intermarriage has taken place in varying amounts between English, Germans, Irish, Welsh, French, Spanish, Italians, Polish, Norwegians and Scandinavians and in a limited degree between Indians and representatives of these various nationalities, between Indians and colored people and between colored people and white people. In the third and fourth generations few Americans are of unmixed blood. Even in a large percentage of the colored race there is a strain of white blood of one kind or another. The only race which has remained pure to any degree is the Hebrew. Even in this there has been intermarriage with other races and that which has remained pure has undergone changes through co-ordination of education, mode of life and government.

As yet the American people has not reached its full development. New blood is still poured into it from nearly every race under the sun and with it come new ideas, religions, habits and customs. In a general way the identity of the American has been fixed, however, and his character has been established. The diluent which now comes in cannot change the trend of the development although it may somewhat influence the ultimate quality of the product.

The forces at work in the making of the American people have been spiritual and physical. Among the spiritual are religion, a love of freedom, a spirit of romance and a yearning for the strange, novel and beautiful. Among the physical are courage, fortitude, strength of body, capacity to endure suffering and privation and resistance to disease and deleterious influences of climate. Nearly all the early emigrants to America were religious people. Some had so high a degree of fervor as to make them intolerant and fanatic. Most of them had a burning love of liberty. Interference with religious liberty, confiscation of property, imposition of unbearable taxes and exaction of service in war in the countries from which they came were the main-

spring which led many to the long and painful trek from home into a wild, unknown country.

A craving for change, a feeling of restlessness and a thirst for adventure no doubt influenced many. The wonderful stories which came from America about the natural wealth of the country, the beauty of nature which existed there and the grand opportunities open to all who were willing to work, must have appealed to persons of a romantic spirit and artistic temperament and to men and women of physical strength, great courage and capacity to endure the hardships of life. With such spirits neither the terrible sufferings nor the great loss of life of those who went ahead deterred others from following.

To the people in Europe in those days America was the Promised Land. Under the guiding hand of Providence in His inscrutable ways, what was begotten in their minds by the burdens which were laid upon their backs and the sorrows which were poured into their hearts in the end became a reality. America has been blessed by God and its people has received His friendly countenance at every step in its development. If any of this has been earned, the Catholic is entitled to a fair share of it.

The foundation of America was laid deep upon the rock of Catholicity. All of the explorers who participated in its discovery and delineation were Catholics. Columbus, Americus Vespuccius, the Cabots, Ponce de Leon, Cartier, Magellan and many of the lesser lights who made the New World known to Europe were Catholics. They had their human failings and did things which were contrary to the teachings of their religion but most of them were inspired by high motives and actuated by strong faith. Their acts may well be interpreted in the light of words put in the mouth of Sebastion Cabot: "When news were brought that Don Christopher Colonas, the Genoese, had discovered the coasts of India, whereof was great talk in all the court of King Henry VII who then reigned, insomuch that all men with great admiration affirmed it to be a thing more divine than human to sail by the west into the east where spices grow by a map that was never known before,—by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt

some notable thing." (Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. II, p. 126).

The qualities of character and the development of mind which enabled these early discoverers and delineators of America to do such great and noble deeds came from the Catholic training which they had received through the organization of the Catholic Church. Moreover, they were helped in their enterprises by Catholic friars, Catholic prelates and Catholic rulers, all of whom took their inspiration from a desire to extend the light of the Catholic Faith. One may well ask whether any other force than that derived from the Catholic Faith could have accomplished the task.

For one hundred years after the discovery of America explorations and attempts at colonization for the most part were made by Catholics. The knowledge of the New World which came to Europe was gained by Catholic enterprise.

Ponce de Leon discovered and named Florida in 1513. Diego Moriello explored the Gulf side of Florida in 1516. Francisco de Garay explored the southern border of the Gulf of Mexico in 1519. Stephen Gomez, under commission from Charles V, explored the eastern coast from Florida to Labrador in 1524. He made a report on all the principal points along the coast including what is now Massachusetts Bay, Narragansett Bay, the Connecticut River and the Delaware River. Panfilo de Narvaez explored the Gulf coast of the United States and some of the land farther in and discovered the Mississippi River in 1527. Some of his men crossed the Mississippi and traversed some of the present state of Texas. The information gained led Hernando de Soto to traverse the interior of the southern part of the United States in 1539, when he also explored the Mississippi River. Vascas de Coronado made an expedition of investigation through that part of the United States which now constitutes Arizona, New Mexico and Colorado in 1540. Practically all of these expeditions were accompanied by priests to take care of the men and to carry the Faith to the Indians.

Ponce de Leon attempted to colonize Florida in 1521. He brought Dominican priests with him to preach the Faith to the Indians. Lucas Vascas de Ayllon also attempted to plant a colony in Florida in 1525. He first located near St. John's River

and then moved up the coast into the Chesapeake Bay and located where Jamestown now stands. He brought with him Fathers Anthony de Montesino, Anthony de Cervantes and Brother Peter de Astrata. They built a temporary chapel at their location on the Chesapeake. Panfilo de Narvaez placed a colony on the Appalachee Bay in Florida in 1527. He had with him a number of secular priests, five Franciscan friars and a Franciscan Brother. Abortive attempts at colonization were made by Diego Moriello in 1516, by Francisco de Garay in 1523 and Hernando de Soto in 1539. De Soto brought with him six hundred well trained men, and priests to look after the welfare of his colonists and preach the Gospel to the Indians, and an equipment which might have made his efforts successful had he not been led away by unworthy ambitions. Practically all of these early attempts at colonization failed but they brought much information to Europe and paved the way for more successful attempts later on.

The failure at colonization from Spain and Mexico during the first half of the sixteenth century put a damper on further effort but did not cool the ardor of the missionary priests to bring the Faith to the Indians. Unfortunately, the religious conflict in Europe began to cast its shadow across the Atlantic at this time. Division of the newly discovered world between Spain and Portugal by Pope Alexander VI was not soothing to the religious conflicts between Spain and England and other parts of Europe. England with some reason claimed the northern continent through the discovery of John and Sebastion Cabot. In 1562 the French Calvinists under the leadership of Ribault planted a colony at Port Royal on the Atlantic Coast. This was a challenge to the rights of Spain and soon led to open hostilities.

An attempted settlement by Don Tristan de Luna y Arellana on the Gulf side of Florida, in 1559, although fortified with soldiers and apparently well equipped in other ways, failed. A number of Dominican priests were attached to this colony. A more successful effort was made on the Atlantic coast by Pedro Menendez de Avilés in 1565. He founded St. Augustine with more than 1500 settlers. This was the first permanent colony established by the Spaniards. Jesuit priests and Dominican friars accompanied the colony to administer to the people and to

convert the Indians. Menendez precipitated hostilities by destroying the French colony at Port Royal. He did this on the plea that this colony was trespassing upon his rights. The challenge thus thrown down was taken up by Sir Francis Drake in 1586 when he destroyed St. Augustine by fire.

Another successful colonization was made by Oñate in New Mexico in 1598. This was accompanied by Franciscan friars. It first located in Santa Domingo valley which was then called San Francisco and, later on, San Juan. The colony finally became permanent in the northern part of New Mexico. An attempt at colonization by Luis de Velasco, viceroy of Mexico, in 1555, failed. Velasco brought with him 1500 soldiers and a number of Dominican priests.

America was not only consecrated to God's service by the labor and sufferings of those who strove to bring a knowledge of Him to the unenlightened Indian but was sanctified by the lives of many martyrs to this cause. Father John Suarez, five priest companions, a lay brother and five secular priests laid down their lives somewhere in Louisiana or Texas in 1528. Twelve priests who accompanied De Soto lost their lives, somewhere in Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, between 1539 and 1542. Three Franciscans, two priests and a lay brother, gave up their lives in New Mexico or Colorado in 1542. The Dominican Fathers Diego de Tolosa, Louis Cancer de Barbastro and a layman were killed by the Indians in Florida in 1549. Father Peter Menendez, a Jesuit, was killed in Cumberland Island, Georgia, in 1566. The Jesuit Fathers John Baptist de Segura, Luis de Quiras and Brothers Gabriel Gomez, Sancho de Sovalles with some others were killed in Virginia on the Potomac, near the present site of Washington, D. C., in 1571. Father Peter de Carpa, a Franciscan, was killed in what is now Aurelia Island, Florida, and Fathers Blase Rodiguez, Michael Aunon and Brother Anthony Badajoz were killed in Ossibene Island, Georgia, in 1597. In all, nearly a hundred priests have laid down their lives in their zealous endeavor to bring a knowledge of God to the Indians in the territory which now constitutes the United States of America.

In the dispensations of Providence America became the Promised Land to Europeans as a land of liberty and in the execution

of His design Catholics played no small part. The religious and civil cataclysm in Europe of the sixteenth century left little room there for either religious or civil liberty. The Reformation, in England, at least, began more as a struggle for a place under the sun than as a correction of religious irregularities. The money which was derived from the confiscation of monasteries, eleemosynary institutions and the dismantling of churches was for the most part devoted to building up defense and creating naval and military strength. Of £1,338,442, 9s. 24d. derived from confiscation of church property by Henry VIII, £696,072, 11s. and 7¾d. was used for this purpose. (*Henry the Eighth and the English Monasteries.* Gasquet, Appendix).

Prior to the sixteenth century all of Europe was a homogeneous mass in religious belief and sentiment, in religious practices and more or less in discipline. The rulers of the various countries were more or less tied together by intermarriage. Custom made the Pope arbiter in international disputes. An unwritten law gave discoverers of new lands uninhabited by Christians a right to such lands. Had the Pope granted an equal share to England with what he bestowed upon Spain and Portugal in his decision of the respective rights of those countries to the New World it is quite possible that no reformation would have taken place in England. Henry VIII's demand for a divorce and his general attitude on moral problems were factors but he was not a Protestant and had very little sympathy with the heresies of his day. He was a bad Catholic and he and those who were associated with him in framing the policies of England stood ready to sacrifice everything for the power and position of England.

Elizabeth, like her father, was only a Protestant and reformer in so far as these served her ends as the ruler of her country. Her excommunication by the Pope placed her in a more trying position than that of her father in the maintenance of her supremacy. The tradition of centuries had been that the Pope had the right and power to determine who should rule over the peoples of Europe as a matter of faith and morals. Excommunication absolved the faithful from obedience to a sovereign. During the reign of Henry VIII and in the early part of the reign of Elizabeth the people of England were still Catholic at

heart and Catholic in sentiment. This and the enmity of Spain put Elizabeth with her back to the wall to fight for her throne and even for her life. She was not loath, under these circumstances, to have her Catholic subjects leave their homes in England and seek new homes in the New World where such action, moreover, would help to establish her claims to that New World and her power to hold it.

When, therefore, in 1574, a movement was set on foot in England to have the Catholics emigrate to America and colonize there, it clandestinely received Elizabeth's cordial approval. On March 22nd, 1574, Sir Humphrey Gilbert and Sir George Peckham with Mr. Carlyle, Sir Richard Grenville and others, petitioned Queen Elizabeth to permit of colonization in the New World with the tacit understanding that Catholics might participate in the scheme of colonization. In response to this appeal a patent was granted on June 11, 1578, which was made broad enough to enable Catholics to emigrate and to reside under the protection of the British government in the newly discovered country. The place of settlement was to be Norumbega, an area which is now believed to have been the present New England States.

The petition of Gerard and Peckham is proof that Catholics were concerned in this scheme of migration.

"Articles of peticion to the righte Honnorable Sr Frauncis Wallsinghame Knighte Principall Secretairie unto the Quens Matie by Sr Thomas Gerrarde and Sr George Peckenham Knightes as followeth viz

"That where Sr Humferie Gylberte Knighte hath granted and assigned to the saide Sr Thomas and Sr George authoritie by virtue of the Quens Matie lres patents to discover and pocesse &c certain heathen Lands &c

"Their humble peticion is—

"First that it wolde please her Matie that all souche parsons whose names shall be sett downe in a booke Indented made for that purpose th' one pte remayninge with some one of her Matie Pryvie Councell th' other wth the said Sr Thomas and Sr George maye have lycens to travell into those counteris at the next viaige for conqueste wth all manner of necessarie provission for themselves and their families their to remaine or retorne backe to

Englande at their will and pleasure when and as often as nede shall require.

"Item the recusantes of abilite that will travell as aforesaid maie have libertie uppon discharge of the penallties dewe to her Matie in that behallfe to prepare themselves for the said voiage.

"Item that other recusantes not havinge to satisfie the saide penalties maie not withstandinge have lyke libertie to provide as aforesaide and to stand charged for the paiement of the saide penallties untill suche tyme as God shall make them able to paie the same.

Item that none under color of the saide Lycence shall departe owte of this realme unto any other foren Christian Realme.

Item that they nor anye of them shall doo anye acte tending to the breache of the leage betwene her Matie and anye other Prince in amytie wth her Highness neither to the prejudice of her Matie or this Realme.

"Item that the xth pson wch they shall carrie with them shall be souche as have not any certainetie whereuppon to lyve or maintaine themselves in Englande." (Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, p. 5. Vol. I).

This patent of June 11, 1578, is really the foundation of American liberties. Under it the men to whom it was granted and their assigns as well as all those who would accompany them were authorized from time to time to go away from England, to remain away and to do so freely, "statutes or acts of Parliament made against fugitives or against such as shall depart, remain or continue out of the realm of England without license or any other act, statute, law or matter whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding." The patent was deliberately made broad enough to permit of the emigration of Catholics and the exercise of their religion in the new country.

Sir George Peckham and Sir Thomas Gerard, who took a prominent part in this movement, were Catholics. Some have held that Sir Humphrey Gilbert also was a Catholic. If not, he at least was very friendly to Catholics as he led the movement. He made a preliminary trip of exploration almost immediately after the patent was granted on which he was accompanied by his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh. He took out a colony in June, 1583, and landed in Newfoundland. The area which had

been assigned to him was between 30 and 60 degrees north latitude. Finding the climate too severe in Newfoundland he attempted to remove his colony farther south and was overtaken by disaster. His expedition failed and he lost his life.

Sir Walter Raleigh was the half-brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert from the same mother. His mother was the daughter of Sir Philip Champernown, whose nephew, Henry Champernown, helped the French Protestants under Condé and Coligny. He had been intimately associated with Sir Humphrey Gilbert in his scheme of colonization and furnished one of the ships for Sir Humphrey Gilbert's trip in 1583. He obtained a patent on his own behalf in 1584 when he made a trip of exploration, landing on the American coast on July 4th. He was given a charter for the land which he had explored and the land was named Virginia by Queen Elizabeth. He brought out a colony in 1585. His charter was patterned on that of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and had the same liberal conditions. His undertaking failed but eventuated in the organization of the Virginia Company of London which settled Jamestown in 1607.

Sir George Peckham fell heir to Sir Humphrey Gilbert's project and kept it alive. He met with opposition from the Catholics of England, however, and apparently was unable to carry out his plans. It is believed that the expedition which was sent out under Winslade in 1605 with the patronage of Sir Thomas Arundel and Henry Wriothesley was part and parcel of Sir George Peckham's project. The colony sailed in the steamship "Archangel" under the captaincy of Weymouth and was accompanied by James Rosier who made a detailed report on it. John Gilmary Shea is of the opinion that Rosier may have been a Catholic priest and that this expedition is the one referred to by Monsignor Urban Cerri in a report of the Propaganda to Pope Innocent XI which states that "Soon after Virginia was discovered the King of England sent thither a Catholic earl and another nobleman who was a heretic. These two lords were accompanied by Protestants and Catholics and two priests so that Catholics and heretics performed a long time the exercises of their religion under a common roof." This second effort also failed, probably for the same reason as the first. The celebrated Jesuit, Father Persons, strenuously opposed the movement to

take Catholics out of England and Sir Thomas Arundel withdrew his support of the undertaking.

The genius of the movement to find better conditions for Catholics under the government of England but outside of the area of persecution was not lost, however, but can be traced to and seen in Sir George Calvert's successful undertaking some years later. Sir George Calvert was born in 1582, just about the time when Sir Humphrey Gilbert's project failed. He was not then a Catholic but evidently was friendly to the endeavors which were made to ameliorate the sufferings of Catholics. He became a member of the Virginia Company of Planters in 1609 which was really organized by the friends and associates of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. He purchased the southeastern peninsula of Newfoundland in 1620 and obtained a charter for a province of Avalon in Newfoundland in 1623. The charter made him Lord Proprietor of the region and gave him very liberal laws in matters of religion. Under it Catholics could emigrate to the new province without hindrance and be exempt from penal laws. They could hold lands and have their own churches and priests. Two priests, Fathers Longville and Smith, went out with the colony to Avalon. A chapel was built for Catholics and one for Protestants. Calvert became a Catholic in 1624.

The climate of Newfoundland was found very severe and there was some opposition to the location of the new colony by the French. For these reasons Calvert, at the instigation of his wife undertook to move his colony farther south into Virginia, in 1629. He was supported in this by Sir Thomas Arundel. Through the opposition of the Governor of Virginia and of Claiborne, he failed to obtain a charter for a location in Virginia from the king. He did obtain a charter, however, for a territory south of Virginia in 1631. Through Claiborne's opposition this charter also was revoked and a territory north of the Potomac to the 40th deg. north latitude with a portion of the eastern shore of the Chesapeake Bay was granted him. This charter was the most liberal that had so far been given. King Charles I renounced for himself and his successors the right to lay any tax or imposition on the people of the new land, named Maryland in honor of Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV. It secured to the emigrants an independent share in the legisla-

tion of the province, the statutes of which were to be established with the advice and approbation of the majority of freemen or their deputies. Lord Baltimore died before the Great Seal of England was attached to the charter but his son took up the matter where the father had left it off. (Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, Vol. I, pp. 28-36).

Cecil, Calvert's son, carried forward his father's plans. He took out a colony in the latter part of 1633 and landed it on St. Clement's Island on the feast of the Annunciation, March 25, 1634. The colony was accompanied by two Jesuit priests, Fathers Andrew White and John Altham, and a Jesuit Brother, Thomas Gervase. Religious liberty was granted to all the colonists, Catholics as well as Protestants, and all settlers were put on an equal footing. In the framing of the laws freedom was given to religion. The first section of the act for Church liberties read: "Holy Church within this province shall have all rights, liberties and immunities safe, whole and inviolable in all things." (Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, Vol. I, pp. 35-56).

Meanwhile other schemes of colonization had been projected and carried into execution with varying success. In 1606 King James I gave charters to two companies, the London and the Plymouth, in which he divided the Atlantic Coast territory from 34 to 45 deg. north latitude between them in equal portions. The charters were less liberal, especially as regards freedom of religion, than those which had been granted before. They established the Church of England as the religion of the colonies and required the oath of allegiance. The London Company sent out a colony to the Chesapeake Bay and founded Jamestown in 1607. It experienced many hardships and met with difficulties from within and without. In 1609 it received a new charter. It had a struggling existence but survived. In 1619 it introduced slavery into the colony.

In 1607 a colony was also planted in Maine on Monhegan Island. This was accompanied by the Reverend Richard Seymour, a Protestant minister, and it is said that the first Protestant service in New England was held by him at this place. The colony ultimately failed. In 1614 an attempt was made to plant a colony at Plymouth by the Plymouth Company. Not un-

til 1620, however, was a colony successfully established here. New colonies now began to spring up rapidly all over America, not only from England but from other countries with the conflicts of Europe more or less transferred to the new country. Religious prejudice, religious hatred and religious persecutions also came with them.

William Hawkins in Henry VIII's time and John Hawkins and Francis Drake in Elizabeth's time showed England how to acquire wealth through the slave trade and through piracy. Through the wealth thus obtained England gained a commanding position in world politics. She defeated Spain and assumed control of the seas. She uprooted Catholicism, root and branch in her riotous greed for wealth and power, not because she loved Protestantism, but because the genius of Protestantism for the moment better suited her mood and ambitions. From generation to generation the English people lost all knowledge of the religion of their ancestors and had their love for it fermented into hatred by those who had profited by the confiscation of the property of the Church. The English people in the development of their new religion soon split up into religious factions retaining but one binding tie, a hatred of Catholicism. Many of the factions which could no longer abide in England removed to America.

Beginning with the charters of the London and Plymouth Companies in which the Church of England was established as the religion of the land, the new colonies as they organized made their own brands of religion the religions of their colonies. To this rule there was one exception, the colony of Pennsylvania, where Penn, who by some one has been called the St. Francis of Protestantism, made religious freedom a principle of his foundation and lived up to it as far as it was in his power to do so. In Maryland, where the foundation stone had been religious freedom, Protestants got the ascendency and, by an abuse of the very liberal charter, inaugurated a campaign of persecution of Catholics. In all other colonies a hatred of Catholics was part of the religion.

From the earliest times after the discovery of America, France, like Spain, sent out missionaries, usually in company with colonies, to carry a knowledge of God to the Indians and to

plant the Catholic Faith in the new country. France devoted itself to the northern part of the American continent and to the centre along the Lakes and down the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. Spain selected its field of activity along the south Atlantic and the Gulf coast and in the territory west of the Mississippi. Both did excellent work in these regions. The colonists from England brought with them a hatred for these two countries, inspired, no doubt, by the political struggles which had gone on for nearly a hundred years at home, second in its intensity only to the hatred of Catholicity. Early in the history of America Dutch settlements were made in New York, in Delaware, in New Jersey and in Connecticut and Swedish settlements on the Delaware River. As these settlements were made by Protestants the conflict between them and colonists from England were merely political and usually ended in amicable adjustments and amalgamation of interests.

The poor Indian was perhaps the greatest sufferer from the religious animosities and conflicts and the political squabbles of the European countries and their respective colonists in the New World. He was taught the religion of Christ as the religion of love and was given a continuous demonstration of how those who professed that religion could hate each other and do cruel things to each other. His savage instincts often were made use of by the colonists for their sinister purposes with the inevitable punishment invariably coming to him.

In the nature of things the colonies in America, from whatever part of Europe they may have come, were tied closely, in the early years of their struggle, to the countries from which they sprang. This made them very sensitive to the politics of Europe. When England won out against France and Spain she took over the American colonies of these governments and tried to remake them to fit into her own schemes. In this effort at remaking there again was a serious religious conflict. Many Spanish colonists emigrated to the South American continent and to that part of the North American which still was under Spanish or Portuguese influence. The French colonists clung to their country and England made a concession to them in the matter of religious freedom. This concession had much to do with the American revolution by stirring up the religious animosity of

the English colonists. It probably weighed heavier in the balance than the tariff on tea.

In spite of the hatred of Protestants for Catholics in the American colonies and the offensive manner in which they manifested that hatred, not only the Catholics of the colonies but the Catholics of the world participated in the struggle for freedom in America and became the pivotal force which won that freedom. Except for the aid extended by Catholic France the colonists could not have won out. It is true, this aid cannot be based upon religion and was largely a political matter but nevertheless the extension of it showed the spirit of that tolerance which is the genius of Catholicity. The Catholic Poles who came to the aid of the American colonies had no political basis for their action and were inspired by a love of liberty. The Catholics of Canada as a body remained neutral, as to overt acts of unfriendliness, but showed sympathy, so far as it was compatible with a sense of duty to the government which had befriended them. The French Catholics of the Mississippi Valley and of the Lake region, as residents of the area which logically would belong to the united colonies, joined the colonies and saved that vast area of the northwest to the embryonic United States.

The Catholic settlers of the colonies, from whatever part of Europe they had come, almost to a man joined the movement for freedom and contributed what they could to the cause, for the most part their personal services. Outside of Maryland they had come mainly from Ireland, Germany and France. Those who had come from Ireland may have been influenced some by their inborn hatred of England but those from other countries could not have any such incentive. The majority of the Catholics of Maryland and Virginia had been of English origin and must have retained some feelings of sentiment for the home of their ancestors. Documentary evidence brought to light by Michael J. O'Brien in *A Hidden Phase of American History* shows that a large percentage of soldiers furnish by the colonies themselves were of Irish origin and that many of them were Catholics. It would seem that the native born citizen was less disposed to join the revolutionary army than the immigrant who was still in the first generation of his Americanism. O'Brien quotes the testimony of Joseph Galloway, one time

Speaker of the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania, before the House of Commons of Great Britain, that of the soldiers in the American army there was scarcely one-fourth natives of America. It is true that a few Catholics joined the British forces but their number was very small in spite of the appeal made to them on the animosity of the American colonists against their religion and the friendliness of England to the Catholics.

The helpfulness of the Catholic nations of Europe to the colonies in their struggle for freedom and the service which American Catholics rendered to the cause, won for the Catholics in the colonies a more kindly feeling and a fairer attitude of most of the leaders of public thought in America and those who had to do with the organization of the new government, and obtained for them a restoration of civil rights which had been denied them in the colonial government. Even in states in which discrimination was kept out of the statute books, a practical discrimination was maintained in narrow-minded prejudices born of ignorance and traditional misrepresentation with the rank and file of the people.

It is generally conceded by the world that the American, as he is now constituted, has qualities which distinguish him from citizens of other countries. These have been made more or less classical in the picture of Uncle Sam, half comical and half serious, used everywhere to represent the type of American character. He is presented to us as a genial, kind, open-hearted, frank, optimistic, shrewd, tolerant sort of fellow with a big heart and a full pocketbook. As a type he undoubtedly posseses some of these qualities in a larger or smaller degree. He has other qualities, which are not so well expressed in the cartoon. He is loyal, modest, dependable, reverent, fair-minded and progressive. Whatever qualities he has, come from the blending of the qualities of peoples of different religions, different races and of different characters and from the friction brought about by intimate contact and association of such peoples. It is not possible to determine accurately what the professors of any religion, the members of any race or the individuals of any particular kind of character have contributed to the composite which has come out of the blend, but one can form some idea of what each has put into the melting pot.

Of some qualities the Catholic has contributed liberally. The genius of the Catholic Faith is to make men, modest, loyal, gentle, dependable, fair-minded, reverent and tolerant. Mother Church makes no distinction in color, race and position in life. Her children kneel side by side at the Communion rail and take their turn at the tribunal of penance. All receive the same sacraments, are administered to in exactly the same way and after death are buried side by side in consecrated ground. From babyhood up the Catholic is taught to be loyal to his country, to be kind to his neighbor and to bear patiently the burdens which come to him. His faith is fixed as it came from the Divine Teacher and is the same everywhere with all men. The practise of his religion makes him reverent and modest and develops a gentleness of character.

The Catholic schools in America which have been the burden of complaint of fanatical non-Catholics have been and are one of the best resources for character-building in the country. They make for refinement, stability and reverence. They existed in America before the English colonists came, they remained during the persecuting times of the colonists and took on new life with rapid growth upon the organization of the United States Government.

The Spanish missionaries established schools for the Indians and for the children of the immigrants as part of their missionary work. There was a classical school in Florida as early as 1606 and there were missionary schools in New Mexico as early as 1629. The efficiency of these schools is shown by the ability of the chiefs of the Apache and Timaqua Indians who had been converted to Christianity to sign a memorial to the King of Spain, in 1675, with their own signatures, facsimiles of which have been published by John Gilmary Shea in his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*. The size and influence of these schools may be inferred from the number of Catholic Indians. In 1655 there were 26,000 Catholic Indians in the area which now constitutes South Carolina, Georgia and Florida and in 1674 Bishop Calderon confirmed 13,152 individuals in this area.

The Jesuits opened a Catholic college in Newtown, Md., in 1677. The Ursuline nuns opened an academy for the education

of girls in New Orleans in 1727. The French established schools in Louisiana and along the Mississippi and at Detroit during the colonial period. Catholic schools also were established in Pennsylvania during this time. Prior to the Declaration of Independence there were upwards of 70 Catholic schools in the area which now constitutes the United States of America.

It may be truthfully said that the spirit of education and the conditions favorable to it which came to America from England were derived from the traditions of Catholic education. The religious cataclysm in England was a blow at education. The best intellect of England was destroyed or exiled and the educational machinery was torn down and disorganized. According to the official register of Oxford and Cambridge, the average number of degrees annually taken in these universities between 1449 and 1458 was 91.5. The record is then suspended until 1506. Between 1506 and 1535 the annual average was 127. In 1506 it was 216 and in 1536 it had dropped to 44. The average for the subsequent years of the reign of Henry VIII was less than 57 and the average during the reign of Edward VI was barely 33. During the reign of Mary it rose to 70. (Gasquet, *The Eve of the Reformation*, pp. 38-39).

The first non-Catholic educational institution founded in America was Harvard in 1636, by men who had been graduated from Cambridge University, England. It took the name of university in 1780. Yale University began as a college in 1700. Columbia began as a college in 1746 and the Pennsylvania University in 1749.

At the present time the Catholic schools are educating nearly 2,000,000 children. These schools are graded from parochial schools to universities. They are supported by Catholics all of whom at the same time contribute in the same proportion as non-Catholics to the maintenance of public schools and to some extent of non-Catholic universities. The sacrifice which Catholics have been and are making in the support of their schools has had a two-fold effect. It has helped to develop the character of the Catholic and it has stimulated the interest of the non-Catholic in educational work by the example which it has given. No influence upon earth is more powerful than that of example. What Catholics are doing in their parochial schools, in their

academies, colleges and universities has been a silent reminder and a persistent monitor to all thinking people and cannot fail to give rise to generous impulses and noble aspirations in non-Catholics for the education of the people.

The influence of Catholic schools for refinement is generally recognized. Many non-Catholics send their children, especially their daughters, to Catholic schools conducted by religious women on account of the protection which those schools give them and the refining influences which exist in them. Even in our colonial days the superior training and refining influence of the Catholic schools of France and Belgium were recognized in such men as the Carrolls and the Brents of Maryland. The influence of the parochial schools on children is graphically illustrated by a story told by an old non-Catholic physician of one of the interior towns of Pennsylvania, where he had practiced for upwards of sixty years. A young priest came to the town and built a church school before he built his own house and brought to it Sisters as teachers. Speaking of this priest in the latter part of his career, the old doctor said: "Before Father came to the town the boys threw stones at me when I drove through the small streets, but after he had been here some years they tipped their hats."

In the charity of the Catholic there also has come into the melting pot an element of great value. Prior to the Reformation all of Europe was dotted over with eleemosynary institutions and guild homes, in which there was provision for the amelioration of every kind of human suffering and for the enhancement of human joy. The guilds provided for their own prosperity and merriment and added to the enjoyment of life by ameliorating the sorrows and sufferings of their afflicted and less fortunate brothers and sisters. The Reformation destroyed these institutions and gradually took out of the minds of Protestants the traditions and the Faith which had led to their establishment. Catholics did not lose the traditions and had in their Faith the fructifying force which had given rise to them. The Catholic colonists had no need of eleemosynary institutions as in the nature of things the population was too thin for them, but as towns sprang up and the vicissitudes of life brought hardships to the weak, they began to establish them for every form

of defect and suffering that may arise. At present they maintain foundling asylums, orphan asylums, hospitals, houses of the Good Shepherd and reformatories throughout the entire country. Besides these, nearly every parish has its conference of St. Vincent de Paul to give aid to the worthy poor who need temporary help. All of these works are supported out of the earnings of the masses of the people. And what is perhaps a still greater and more inspiring charity, these institutions are managed and served by men and women who claim no earthly reward for what they do but do it for the love of God and neighbor. They get no pay. They obtain their daily bread, have an humble place to sleep in and plain, modest wearing apparel to clothe themselves with. They have no thought of the future, make no provision for retirement and carry no insurance for sickness or old age. With trust in God they work as best they can until God calls them to their reward.

This vast, co-ordinated charity of a fair percentage of the American people almost ever since the government was organized cannot have failed to exercise an influence upon the American character. The example has been followed by non-Catholics and Jews and what might have been lost to the world as a factor in human happiness not only has been saved but, through rivalry, has attained gigantic proportions. Even those who have lost religion have retained a spirit of giving and the American people, as was well illustrated after the recent war, have become the most liberal givers in the world. Could the minds of all men be laid bare to the world, it probably would be seen that many a generous impulse to give has been inspired by the Sister of Charity.

In the fine arts, music, painting, sculpture and architecture the Catholic has put much in the melting pot. From the earliest days of Christianity the Catholic Church has fostered a love of music in her children and through her music in the churches has cultivated a taste for it. In the High Mass, in vespers and in the services of sodalities, Catholics have music at least once a week and frequently oftener. In the early days of America many non-Catholic churches excluded music from the church service. In those days Catholic church music was the best that the country provided. In some parts of America the Moravians

and Lutherans, who likewise had church music, contributed to the development of a taste for music. Whatever taste for music Americans have, they undoubtedly acquired more from Catholics than from any other source.

What can be said about music can likewise be said about painting, sculpture and architecture. In the decoration and statuary of Catholic churches, Catholics have always had before them object lessons and inspiration of art and these lessons carried their influence to non-Catholics as well. Whatever help came from Europe by the importation of paintings and statuary nearly all came from Catholic sources. In church building Catholics have been promoters of architecture from the very beginning of our country. Even the early missionaries, with the aid of their Indian converts, built churches which command the admiration and wonder of art lovers of to-day. The Papago Indian church in Arizona has been described by non-Catholic writers as an architectural gem. Not only was the building a poem in adobe but it was most beautifully decorated by mural paintings. The mission churches of California are still admired and imitated the world over. The Catholic cathedrals and the Catholic churches in large cities and even in small towns, whilst by no means all perfect architecturally, nevertheless have exercised a potent influence in the development of a taste for art in its broadest sense.

In what the French call "savoir faire," knowing how to do things, the Catholic has put a great deal into the melting pot. Washington did not hesitate to use Polish and French Catholic officers in training his soldiers. These officers gave valuable services in the Revolutionary War. Commodore Barry, a Catholic Irish immigrant, was used for the new navy and earned for himself the title of "Father of the Navy." One of the commissioners for laying out Washington, Daniel Carroll, was a Catholic. The planners of Washington, L'Enfant and Dermott, were Catholics. The architect of the White House and the superintendent of the building operation in its erection, James Hoban, was a Catholic. The first stenographic reporter of Congress, Thomas Lloyd, was a Catholic. In all of the wars which America has fought, some of the talent for officers and much of the brawn for the rank and file came from Catholics. For the build-

ing of our railroads and the development of our country generally, Catholics have supplied much of the brain and brawn. Catholic talent has entered largely into the making of our newspapers and journals and into the creation of American literature. Whilst Catholics have not sat in legislative halls in as large numbers as their relative proportion to the population would call for, they have given valuable services in appointive offices, the way to which is earned by qualification and merit. The road to the legislative halls and to the executive chairs has been barred to them by the narrow prejudices of their non-Catholic fellow citizens. Perhaps one of the best services that they have given to their country, in educational value at least, has been their silent, dignified submission to this unfair, unmanly treatment.

The intolerance bred by the political and religious disturbances of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the blackest blot on Christian civilization since Christ came into the world. Americans made more rapid progress and recovery from it than some other peoples but even with them it has been slow. Intolerance is rubbed off by friction and tolerance is established by contact. In the melting pot of the American people the Catholic has been the greatest force for bringing about tolerance. The Jew and the negro have likewise contributed on the exemplary passive and resisting side, the Jew in religion and the colored man in race. The individual into whom tolerance has had to be instilled and out of whom intolerance has had to be rubbed has been the non-Catholic.

The Catholic came to America before the religious differences arose in Europe. He carried the Faith to the Indian for nearly one hundred years before his dissenting brothers crossed the big water. He did not bring the hatred of Europe over with him. He colonized in the spirit of his religion. Where he had power to make laws he gave freedom of religion to those who differed with him. Where he has been in the majority he has welcomed and made much of his non-Catholic fellow citizen and often has helped him into office. When his churches have been destroyed and the homes of his dear ones who had consecrated themselves to God's service have been desecrated and consigned to the flames, he has borne the affront and the injury with meekness and dignity, in the spirit of Christianity. He has met crimina-

tion and force by meekness and forbearance. His influence is made manifest by the greater tolerance in the communities in which he predominates. Such monstrosities as Know-Nothingism, Native Americanism and Ku Kluxism have never sprung up in any part of the country in which the Catholic exists in large enough numbers to be known to all the people and to exercise an influence upon public thought.

In religion the Catholic has been an abiding and conserving element. If America is to remain Christian it will have to be through the Catholic. The Catholic believes that he possesses the truth which Christ brought into the world. He is tolerant of error but condones the weakness and loss of faith of those whom he believes to be in error. What he believes and makes the basis of his conduct is fixed and cannot be changed. When he ceases to believe the Catholic doctrines he eliminates himself from the Catholic fold. He may break loose from the discipline of the Church and be forgiven, but when he renounces his Faith he is excluded.

When the American Republic was organized vastly the majority of the people were believers in God and practised some religion. Outside of the Catholic Church the relative number of Christians in proportion to the entire population has decreased to so great an extent that the American people can no longer call itself a Christian people, at least if measured by the orthodoxy of a hundred years ago. It has been said that less than half of the American people now profess the Christian religion and that of those who do profess it, many never enter a church. Even of those who do go to church many have judaized and no longer believe in the divinity of Christ. In the melting pot many Jews have also lost their orthodoxy and no longer follow the religion of their forefathers.

With the loss of orthodoxy, whether by Christian or Jew, unfortunately there often goes a severance from the conventions of life and a degradation in morals dangerous to our free institutions. To this is due the lawlessness, the disregard for human life, the increase of divorce and sins against nature's laws which make for human unhappiness. In the orthodoxy of its 20,000,000 Catholics America has its best defense against the disinte-

gration and ruin which have overtaken people and governments in the past.

In the melting pot Catholics, too, undoubtedly have suffered some. For a long time prior to the organization of our government in colonial days down to the present, many have fallen away from the Faith because they could not withstand the corroding influences of their environment, and the pressure of opposition, or they fell before the influence of example. Some, like their non-Catholic fellow citizens, judaized to an easier faith, to fall in line, as they thought, with the progress of modern science. With some the urge of the flesh or the lure of mammon tripped them from the narrow path. Had none fallen away they undoubtedly would number many more millions than they do. Enough of them remain, however, to make a leaven of righteousness for the whole mass. These still go to church, and try to obey the commandments of God. They are faithful to their marriage ties, just to the unborn child, merciful to the afflicted and defective, obedient to the government, honest in their business relations and charitable to their fellow men. With them these things are still matters of religious obligation and not of traditional expediency.

It undoubtedly is true that many non-Catholic Americans and many Americans who have no longer any religion and many Jews who have cut loose from their orthodoxy lead righteous lives as good as any led by Catholics, but unfortunately, with the severance from the orthodox religion which has inculcated this mode of life in them and has the power to enhance it, the life which they lead is apt to be lost in the generations which follow. Their churches can no longer hold them as in the past because they have no infallible guide to which they can appeal when controversy springs up among their members and psuedo-science presents unproved statements of facts in conflict with their doctrines. For these honest, good-living people, Catholic life in the melting pot is a safety line thrown out in a boisterous ocean.

LAWRENCE F. FLICK.

# IRISH MONKS AND THE TRANSMISSION OF LEARNING[1]

Scholars are agreed that there was scarcely any intellectual movement in the Early Middle Ages which was not closely dependent on the Roman heritage. When Italy ceased to be its centre there were instances of its persistence in Africa, in Spain, and in Ireland. From Ireland the movement spread to Britain, from Ireland and Britain to France, to Germany and back to Italy; then from Germany to France and to Italy again. And so it happened that towards the end of the tenth century there was throughout Europe a more enduring revival the results of which we still enjoy.

The aim of the present paper is to sketch very briefly a few of the more important aspects of the great rôle which Irish monks and monasteries played in the preservation and transmission of this classical heritage. A word of caution may be added in order to prevent misconceptions as to the aim and character of the Irish monastic schools which flourished from the sixth to the tenth century. While undoubtedly important educational centres, these schools were not comparable to the great Christian schools of Antioch and Alexandria in the early centuries of our era, or to the purely classical schools of Gaul in the fourth century. On the other hand, they were not, like some of their contemporaries, purely ecclesiastical seminaries where the merest rudiments of theology were taught and where profane learning was either feared or despised.

Undoubtedly the primary aim of these schools was to give a sound Christian education to their students, but it can be shown that in practice this aim was not inconsistent with giving a good liberal education which included both sacred and profane learning. In the writer's opinion the peculiar character of the Irish monastic school was the result of the harmonious combination of these three elements: (1) Native Irish Culture, (2) Christianity, and (3) Graeco-Roman Culture; and this conception of Irish

1 Paper read at Fifth Annual Meeting Catholic Historical Association, Philadelphia, December 29-31, 1924.

Monastic Culture furnishes the key to a proper understanding of the real significance of Irish monastic scholarship during the Early Middle Ages. To understand the social milieu in which these schools arose and developed it is necessary to add a few words of explanation. Previous to the introduction of Christianity there were three classes of learned men in Ireland, namely, the druids, the bards, and the brehons. It seems probable that these three orders were the result of a gradual division of labor, the bards being first distinguished from the druids, and later the brehons from the bards. These orders corresponded in the main to what we describe as professional classes at the present time.

Of the druids relatively little is known from Irish sources. On the introduction of Christianity many of the druids became converts and some of them attained to high ecclesiastical offices. Others clung on tenaciously to their old beliefs and practices. Since the druids were so intimately associated with the pagan religion all reference to them was rigorously expunged from the ancient laws of Ireland when they were revised in early Christian times. In old Irish poems and legends, however, the druids are frequently mentioned, but generally as magicians or sorcerers. Evidently as Christianity spread they led a precarious existence in remote parts down to the eighth century when their influence waned and eventually disappeared, except in so far as it survived in the superstitions of the peasantry.

The bards were the poets and chroniclers who related historical events and legendary tales frequently in verse and probably with musical accompaniment. There was no essential antagonism to Christianity in their order. They simply became Christian and then composed hymns and secular songs more in harmony with their new creed. In the time of St. Columba (521-597) they became unpopular because of their exaction of privileges and their increasing numbers, and so a proposal to abolish them was submitted to the famous convention of Drumceat (575 A. D.). St. Columba, who was a poet himself and had studied vernacular literature under an ancient bard, pleaded their cause and advised reform rather than abolition. Fortunately his wise counsel prevailed. The order was now reorganized by Dallan Forgall, the chief poet of Ireland, who wrote a famous eulogy of St. Columba.

An important part of the scheme of reform was the establishment of a bardic school or college in each of the five provinces with several smaller schools under these, one for each district. In this way the bardic order came to perform a great national and public service as secular teachers and as custodians of the national history, literature, and traditions. Thus the vernacular bardic schools became complimentary to the monastic schools, both systems flourishing side by side for centuries.

The order of brehons grew out of that of the bards. At first the laws were in the form of rhythmical maxims transmitted orally, but they were afterwards committed to writing. Those who had charge of the interpreting and administering of these laws formed a distinct order, but sometimes the same man was both bard and brehon. According to the tradition preserved in the Annals of the Four Masters the old Irish laws were revised by a committee of nine, three saints including St. Patrick, three kings, and three men of learning. These laws were revised from time to time by the brehons who annotated and commented on them with a view to elucidating the technical and cryptic text. The brehons continued to exercise judicial functions beyond the limits of the English Pale until the time of Elizabeth. Naturally enough educational provision had to be made for the training of this lawyer class.

From what has been said it will be seen that in the ancient Irish state there was need for a professional class of laymen and that special schools for training them were established. Laymen also studied and sometimes taught in monastic schools. There does not seem to have been any antagonism between these two classes of schools both of which were intimately connected with the native Irish social system. Hence we are not surprised to find a layman at the head of the great monastic school in the eleventh century, or an ecclesiastic at the head of a lay college at Tuaim Drecain in Cavan in the seventh century. It is interesting to note that this college was organized somewhat like a university; it had three schools, one for law, one for the classics, and one for poetry and general Gaelic learning.

Such was the secular environment in which the monastic schools grew up and flourished. From very early times it is evident that the Irish people had a great love of learning. This

could be easily demonstrated by quotations from the vernacular literature and the Latin writings of both monks and laymen. It is little wonder then that the Irish monk should not be satisfied with a superficial knowledge of Latin. His natural inclination and his environment were alike important factors in urging him towards the higher studies. To those who are unaware of this background of native culture the learning of such men as St. Columbanus, St. Adamnan, Colcu, Sedulius, Martin, and Eriugena, is inexplicable. It would of course be illogical to contend that because Irish scholars cultivated the vernacular they thereby, in some mysterious way, acquired a knowledge of classical Latin and some acquaintance with Greek. All that is meant to be conveyed is that, having already a cultivated taste for vernacular literature, they were in a very favorable frame of mind to explore the literary treasures of another language, if such an opportunity should present itself. And assuredly such an opportunity did present itself.

As to the exact means whereby classical learning reached Ireland scholars are not quite agreed. Some would attribute "the outburst of classical learning." to an influx from Gaul of rhetoricians who fled before the Teutonic invaders, others would attribute it to the work of Christian missionaries. However it came about it is quite certain that it was not due to St. Patrick's labors as so many popular histories teach. While not unmindful of the importance of St. Patrick's mission, we must not overlook the fact that there were Christians in Ireland before his arrival, just as there were still pagans left after his death. As all who have read his writings agree St. Patrick was not a good Latin scholar and we have no evidence that he knew Greek.

The century following St. Patrick's death must have been a period of great literary and religious activity. The country became dotted with monasteries the founders of which were all native Irishmen. Such were St. Enda of Aran, St. Comgall of Bangor, St. Finnian of Clonard, St. Brendan of Clonfert, St. Finnian of Moville, St. Ciaran of Clonmacnoise, to mention only a few. The names of these men are not well known outside of Ireland, yet to them must be given the credit for laying the foundations of monastic discipline and scholarship in their native

land. Their pupils carried the fame of these schools all over Europe.

Of those who went abroad in the latter half of the sixth century the names of St. Columba and St. Columbanus are the most outstanding. St. Columba (521-597) was a man of extraordinary energy and ability. His name will be ever remembered because of the lasting effect of his work in Ireland and Britain. By the unanimous consent of historians he is credited with the conversion of Alba, now called Scotland, where no less than sixty-three monasteries were founded by him, or dedicated to his name. Scottish historians vie with each other in extolling the results of his labors in laying the foundations of Christian learning and culture in that hitherto barbarous land of the Picts and Scots.

It should also be remembered that from St. Columba's chief foundation, Iona, the Faith was carried into the north of England by St. Aidan, whose monastery at Lindisfarne did for the Angles what Iona did for the Picts and Scots. Historians are just beginning to realize the magnitude of the debt which England owes to St. Aidan and other Irish monks. It has been said that whereas St. Augustine is the apostle of Kent, St. Aidan is the apostle of England. No careful student of the Christianization of England can fail to notice the limited and transitory nature of the results of St. Augustine's mission. Nor were the native Britons who were still smarting from the defeats inflicted on them by the pagan invaders ready or willing to preach the Gospel to the enemies of their race and country. Under these circumstances the beneficent influence of the Irish monks was felt all over England. This fact has not escaped the notice of the more discerning historians. Many will recall Green's happy remark: "Rome planted, Ireland watered, and the Britons did nothing."

It is not without significance that the earliest Christian Anglo-Saxon verse should be composed in the monastery of Whitby, an Irish foundation that long remained faithful to the traditions of St. Aidan and his successors, nor that kings of the Angles should study in the monasteries of Iona and Ireland and acquire a knowledge of the Gaelic tongue. We know on the authority of Bede that King Oswald interpreted the first sermons

of St. Aidan to his pagan subjects. King Ailfrith, too, was a Gaelic scholar, as we may infer from a beautiful Gaelic poem, still extant, which he wrote in praise of Ireland where he spent several years as a refugee while a rival claimant occupied the throne of Northumbria.

During recent years investigators in many different fields have been contributing to our knowledge of this period of Irish literary activity. The findings of the palaeographer are particularly noteworthy. Although the complete extent of the Irish influence has not been definitely determined we are assured that the Irish style of handwriting was widespread both in Britain and on the Continent. The English borrowed it in *en bloc*, and so close was their imitation that many years elapsed before a distinctively Anglo-Saxon hand was evolved. The Irish style of illumination, too, was copied but no Anglo-Saxon MS can compare with the best specimens of Irish work, such as the famous Book of Kells.

Prior to the time of King Alfred it is impossible to find a single notable Anglo-Saxon scholar who did not come either directly, or indirectly, under Irish influence, e. g., Aldhelm, Bede, Alcuin, Chad, Egbert, Hewald, Victbert. Aldhelm tells us, in his own quaint way, that "fleet loads" of his fellow-countrymen went to Ireland to study. We have also Bede's testimony to the fact that "many of the nobility and of the lower ranks of the English nation" were in Ireland during the great Plague of 664 when the Irish "willingly received them all, and took care to supply them with food, as also to furnish them with books to read, and their teaching, gratis."

The fame of St. Columbanus (540-615) has spread all over Europe. He founded monasteries in Annegray, Luxeuil, and Fontaines in France, and in Bobbio in Italy. Faremoutier, Jouarre, and Rébais were founded by his disciples and friends. His numerous disciples spread his Rule far and wide. His personal influence in Gaul was extraordinary. His views on the exemption of monasteries, penance, and confession, and above all, his monastic Rule, continued to be propagated, thanks to the zeal of his disciples and their successors. Sometimes the Rule of St. Columbanus was combined with the Rule of St. Benedict in the same monastery.

His learning was no less remarkable than his religious fervor. He is said to have been the best poet of his time. A much quoted poem written in Adonic verse shows how thoroughly he was imbued with the classic traditions. In his verse he imitated, or cited, Virgil and Horace. Elsewhere, he quotes Juvenal, and recommends the reading of the ancient poets as well as the Christian Fathers. His letters include reminiscences of Sallust, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, and Persius as well as the Christian poets, Juvenas, Prudentius, and Ausonius.

The attempt to explain the classical learning of St. Columbanus by saying that he acquired it on the Continent is unconvincing. Before he reached the Continent he was probably fifty years old, and his life there was too full of missionary labors for him to find much time for study. Besides, there is not a particle of contemporary evidence to show that competent teachers were available on the Continent. The question as to where he obtained his classical training can best be answered by saying that he obtained it in the monastic school of Bangor (Co. Down) where he was a student and teacher for many years at a time when this school was at the height of its fame.

There was probably not a more barbarous period in the history of Western Europe than the seventh century. Classical studies had fallen into utter decay. Few laymen could write their names. The clergy were indifferently skilled in the Latin language. If barbarism was not to overrun Gaul, outside assistance was an essential. Fortunately such assistance came, and came unsolicited. A great period of religious activity dates from the time when St. Columbanus and his companions began to set up their monasteries. In the course of time these religious foundations became great centers of learning. Of their literary activity we have ample objective evidence in the many manuscripts, *scottice scripta,* which are still preserved in Continental libraries.

It would be tedious to enumerate the different Irish monasteries which were founded on the Continent. Suffice it to say that they were scattered over Gaul, Belgium, Alsace, Alemannia, Franconia, in Italy, along the course of the Danube, and down the valley of the Rhine.

Irish monks were the greatest travellers of their time. They

discovered Iceland, settled in the Faroe Islands, went on frequent pilgrimages to Rome and even to Palestine, visited the valley of the Nile and saw the pyramids of Egypt. In the eleventh century they penetrated into Russia, going as far as Kiev where they were well received by the king and nobles who made them presents of several chariots filled with furs with which they returned to their monastery of St. James under the protection of certain traders of Ratisbon.

For generation after generation the stream of Irish monks flowed towards the Continent. During the seventh and eighth centuries they were primarily religious missionaries, but they were also teachers of sacred and profane learning. In the ninth and tenth centuries their aims were mainly educational. There are critics who still sneer at monastic learning and assert that the monks taught nothing more than hymnody and psalmody. Evidently these critics never read the writings of Adamnan, Columbanus, Dicuil, the Dungals, Clement, Sedulius, Martin, and Eriugena.

For a moment let us turn to the Carolingian Revival which so many of our historians of education would attribute mainly to Alcuin. Writing in the *Catholic University Bulletin*, Vol. XIII, Right Rev. Bishop Turner in an excellent article, which has not received the attention it deserves, identified fifty-three Irish scholars of eminence who labored far and wide in that great empire during the ninth and tenth centuries. These include bishops, abbots, headmasters of monastic schools, headmasters of the Palace school, teachers, scribes, grammarians, geographers, astronomers, compilers and writers of text-books, poets, dialecticians, philosophers, theologians, artists, and musicians. It is hardly necessary to comment on the number and versatility of these teachers and scholars. From what has been said already it may be inferred that Irish teachers were at work in the empire before, during, and after the time of Alcuin. Indeed with the exception of Alcuin, Paul the Deacon, Peter of Pisa, Rhabanus Maurus, and Fredigius the men who were chiefly responsible for the Carolingian Revival were these Irish monks and their numerous compatriots whose names in many cases were not recorded.

Esposito has identified fifty-nine Irish mediaeval Latin

writers whose works are, for the most part, in Continental libraries. Of these eleven belong to the seventh, nine to the eighth, and seventeen to the ninth century. Dom Gougaud estimates at one hundred the religious manuscripts copied by Irish monks on the Continent before the end of the eleventh century. Stokes and Strahan collected the materials for their great *Thesaurus Palaeohibernicus* from the glosses found in manuscripts deposited in twenty-eight different libraries, mainly on the Continent. No doubt many manuscripts perished during the last thousand years, but enough remain to give us some idea of the productivity of these Irish scribes and authors.

Classical scholars are familiar with the accounts of the great treasures of classical antiquity that were brought to light during the Renaissance from the libraries of the monasteries of St. Gall and Bobbio, but it is frequently forgotten that for centuries these were essentially Irish foundations, and that many of the manuscripts were copied and collected by Irish monks. Similar treasures have been recovered from other Irish foundations, such as, Laon, Rébais, Péronne, Reichenau, Würzburg, and Ratisbon.

Summarizing the Irish contribution to mediaeval scholarship Darmesteter says: "The classical tradition to all appearance dead in Europe burst into full flower in the Isle of Saints and the Renaissance began in Ireland 700 years before it was known in Italy. During three centuries Ireland was the asylum of a higher learning which took sanctuary there from the uncultured states of Europe. At one time Armagh, the religious capital of Ireland, was the metropolis of civilization."

This view is held also by Ker as the following quotation shows: "The Latin education began earlier and Teutonic nations received instruction from the Irish, and that not only in the beginning of their studies. Irish learning did not exhaust itself in missionary work and was not merged in the progress of its German pupils; it kept its vivifying power through many generations, repeating in the ninth the good works of the fifth, again contributing fresh material and a still rarer spirit of inquiry to the common erudition of the Continent."

All the studies of the time were taught in these schools. During the earlier centuries their fame was sufficient to draw stu-

dents to Ireland from England, Wales, and Gaul. After the repeated incursions of the Northmen Irish monastic centers were no longer "quiet habitations of sanctity and literature," as Dr. Johnson described them during their heyday. The great literary centers, Armagh, Bangor, Clonard, Clonfert, Clonmacnoise, and Moville, were pillaged and ruined. No wonder that many of the monks fled, carrying in their richly ornamented satchels their precious books, some of them beautifully illuminated manuscripts which to-day compel our admiration while defying our feeble attempts to reproduce them. These refugees found a cordial welcome on the Continent.

The hospitality extended to them by Charlemagne was not more noteworthy than that of some of his successors. Speaking of Charles the Bald, Eric of Auxerre says: "The more an Irishman is learned and clever, the more decided he is to this voluntary exile, where he goes to answer the wishes of a second Solomon." We also know that the Emperor Lothair desiring to carry out the enlightened educational policy of his ancestor, Charlemagne, placed a certain Dungal over the school of Pavia and commanded students to come there from various Italian cities located mainly in the basin of the River Po, including Milan, Brescia, Lodi, Bergamo, Novara, Vercelli, Tortona, Acqui, Genoa, Asti, and Como. Thus we see what a responsible position Dungal occupied as head of the School of Pavia, the precursor of the famous university.

No less than five Irishmen who bore the name Dungal have been identified by Traube. One is a bishop known to us through Alcuin's writings; another wrote a dissertation on the alleged double eclipse of the sun in the year 811, about which Charlemagne asked for an explanation; another Dungal is more shadowy, we know merely that he was a poet; a fourth presented his library to the monastery of Bobbio in the eleventh century; the fifth whom we have already mentioned as head of the school at Pavia was a distinguished theologian. He was selected to oppose the famous Spaniard, Bishop Claudius of Turin, who had rejected the veneration of relics and images. According to church historians Dungal defeated his learned adversary in the controversy.

It would be quite easy to compile a long list of illustrious names, but as Reginald Lane Poole has remarked, "what is

of greatest significance is the fact that there reigned not only among the professed scholars but among the plain missionaries (whose name was legion) a classical spirit, a love of literature for its own sake, and a keen delight in poetry..... Their lighter productions reveal but one side of their Scottish nature. Their earnest single pursuit of learning, their solid hard work as scholars is no less characteristic."

Before concluding it may be well to add a few words as to the scope of Irish monastic learning during the period under review. In attempting a critical estimate we must guard against either of two extreme positions, exaggerated praise, or unfair comparisons. To their contemporaries their learning seemed little short of marvellous, to us it appears much more moderate. We must never overlook the possibility of progress and development in history even during periods of apparent stagnation. It would be manifestly unfair to compare the Latinity of these Irish monks with that of the scholars of the Renaissance. Their Latin was on the whole correct. They had a good knowledge of ecclesiastical Latin. They studied and annotated very carefully the grammars of Donatus and Priscian. They read a few classical authors, especially Virgil, and they frequently wrote verse sometimes of good quality. Compared with modern standards their scientific knowledge was limited in the extreme, but they possesed and taught all that was known in Western Europe at the time. Prior to the ninth century their surviving works reveal a meagre, and sometimes inaccurate knowledge of Greek which appears to have been taught as a living speech and by means of glossaries and conversational and phrase books.

In the ninth century their knowledge of Greek is beyond question as is shown by the works of Sedulius of Liège, Martin of Laon and Eriugena. Sedulius was a poet, a grammarian, a scribe, and the author of a tract on the theory of government which marks the beginning of mediaeval speculation on the subject. Martin taught Greek as we know from his class notes which have been recently published. Eriugena is acknowledged to be the greatest genius of the Early Middle Ages and the most potent influence on Early Mediaeval thought. His translation from Greek of the pseudo-Dionysius gave an impetus to Neo-Platonism and mysticism, while his treatise *De Divisione Naturae* contains the germ of scholasticism and consequently

marks the beginning of a new era in the history of philosophy.

In noting the limitations of Early Mediaeval knowledge we should not overlook the lack of facilities for study and research, such as suitable text-books, reference books, pedagogical apparatus, heated rooms, good lighting, nicely adjusted seats and desks, and all those things which add to the comfort and convenience of modern schools and libraries.

Under these circumstances the wonder is that these Irish monks knew so much and succeeded so well in transmitting their knowledge to posterity. They made the most of their limited opportunities. They had the true scholar's enthusiasm for knowledge and the true teacher's desire to impart it to others. They wrote text-books, transcribed numerous manuscripts, illuminating some of them with remarkable skill; they made the ink, mixed the pigments, prepared the pens and parchment.

Above all they handed down the torch of learning to their successors. The Seven Liberal Arts came to be designated *sapientia Hybernica*, a fact which shows the leading rôle the Irish monks played in the school system of the Early Middle Ages. They were also the pioneers of a higher learning. They influenced the course of philosopical and theological thought for centuries. Their schools were in reality, if not in name, the Universities of the West, which helped to lay the foundations of the educational edifice we are still building.

HUGH GRAHAM,
*College of St. Teresa,*
*Winona, Minn.*

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY.

ESPOSITO, M. *Bibliography of Irish Mediaeval Latin Writers.* Article in *Studies* (Dublin). Vol. II.

GOUGAUD, DOM. *Les Chrêtientés celtiques;* also *Gaelic Pioneers of Christianity.*

GRAHAM, HUGH. *The Early Irish Monastic Schools.*

HEALY, JOHN. *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars.*

JOYCE, P. W. *Social History of Ireland.*

TURNER, WM. *Irish Teachers in the Carolingian Revival.* Article in *Cath. U. Bulletin,* XIII.

ZIMMER, H. *Ueber die Bedeutung des irischen Elements für die mittelalterliche Kultur.*

# MISCELLANY

## SHRINE OF THE NORTH AMERICAN MARTYRS.

When on Sunday, June 21st, the Holy Father declared Blessed, Father Isaac Jogues and his two lay companions, René Goupil and John Lalande, a village of New York State, Auriesville, on the Mohawk River, nearly midway between Albany and Utica, became even more famous and frequented than formerly.

Already Auriesville has been a place of pilgrimage since 1884. At that time, after long and careful investigation, General John S. Clark, U. S. A., assisted chiefly by the historian John Gilmary Shea, decided that the hill east of the village was the site in 1642 of the torture and captivity of Father Jogues and of the martyrdom of René Goupil; and in 1646 of the martyrdom of Jogues and of Lalande. At that time the Mohawk Indians, the easternmost family of the Iroquois, had their villages there surrounded by a wall or palisade of wood, lines and traces of which are clearly seen to-day.

Father Jogues described the place and its position and also its relative distance from places nearby at all four points of the compass. He was a careful observer, as his descriptions show. His account of Manhattan Island, where he stopped in 1643, after his release from captivity, shows that he was a man of minute detail. General Clark, therefore, who was an army engineer and a topographer of many years experience in locating the sites of Indian towns, examined, according to the specifications of Father Jogues, every place that could possibly have been a Mohawk village site in 1642, and came to the conclusion that Auriesville alone corresponded with Jogues' precise description.

The site of the Indian village was purchased by the Jesuits in 1884. The Indian name for it had been Ossernenon. The Jesuits of Father Jogues' time called it Mission of the Martyrs, because they knew he would be martyred there. As it was not proper to speak of Jogues and his companions as martyrs before their beatification, the title adopted for the place in 1884 was Shrine of Our Lady of Martyrs. No doubt this name will still be used by those who know the place, but now that Jogues and his companions are beatified, there is no reason why the site should not be entitled simply the Shrine of the Martyrs.

Auriesville is one of the most beautiful sites in the valley, which is so famed for its beauty. The view from the hilltop in every direction is inspiring. The river curves gently as it meets the Schoharie. On the hills sloping gradually north and south of the river are prosperous farms with woodlands here and there. The lowlands thrill with life: there is scarcely a minute that a train is not passing on the New York Central and West Shore Railroads, boats are plying on the New York State Barge Canal, and

automobiles are forever moving on the state roads. At night the scene is as entrancing as in daylight.

Every summer since 1884 large numbers of pilgrims have visited the shrine. On Sundays organized pilgrimages were conducted there, chiefly from the numerous cities nearby between Hudson and Syracuse, but often also from Buffalo, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Pittsfield and other distant cities. Rarely did the pilgrims number less than two thousand; often they exceeded five thousand. On arriving, they march up the hill with a priest leading and reciting the rosary. Mass is heard and Communion given in the open chapel. Soon after the Mass a priest leads the pilgrims along the Way of the Cross terminating at the Calvary group on the hill, known as the Hill of Prayer, because Jogues and Goupil used to resort there to pray during their captivity. After the noon hour the sermon of the day is preached in the ravine, where the body of Goupil was buried by Father Jogues. The pilgrims then join in a procession of the Blessed Sacrament; the Benedictions are given at the three altars at convenient distances.

Remarkable answers to prayers, many of them of a miraculous character, have rewarded the faith and fervor of the pilgrims. Now that the Martyrs have been beatified, and their statues and pictures may be venerated publicly, and their relics also, no doubt the faith of the pilgrims will be greater still, as also the graces obtained.

JOHN J. WYNNE.

---

## JOHN SINGER SARGENT, HISTORIGRAPHER.

Medium is a mere detail which, by its canons, regulates the manner in which an idea may be expressed. It is the thought, the feeling, the intellectual understanding of the creator or author that is the thing that manifests genius and which betrays itself above and beyond the limitations of the medium, which gives the creation its importance in the world of thought. John Singer Sargent has given to the world, through the Boston Public Library decorations, one of the clearest and most logical histories of religion that we have. He has made a thorough and scientific study of the Bible narrative, he has picked out the salient features, the turning points of the religious history of the world, and has expressed them in their proper relations one to the other, untl the great story is clear to the thoughful observer.

The two ends of the long high hall are so treated as to balance one another. The one end represents the history of Judaism, the other, the Christian era. The central figure of Judaism is Moses and the Twelve Tables of the Law. The central figure of the Christian era is the crucified Christ. Tho other details are grouped in relation to these two; the former, while balancing the latter, in reality leads up to it as an anti-climax. Companions to Moses but of lesser importance are the other prophets, those grieving for the sins of Israel, those hoping for her redemption. To what

depths she had fallen can be seen by the likenesses of the false gods she worshipped,—Moloch, the god of greed, and Astarte, goddess of sensuality, and the other idols, for which infidelity she suffered under the lashes of the Egyptians and the Assyrians. The death of the synagogue, as a living religion, consummated by the Crucifixion of Christ, gives rise to the representation of the Church living upon and through Christ, sacramentally and spiritually.

But the figure of the God-Man on the cross, surrounded by angels bearing the weapons which bruised Him, under the constant power of the Trinity would not be a complete narration of the Incarnation were the Virgin Mother left out. The humility of the Queen of Heaven is in the representations of the Mater Domitilla with her divine Son and her crown, and in the Mater Dolorosa, with seven swords piercing her heart. The significant mysteries of her life, with that of the Saviour of men, is conveyed by the mysteries of the Rosary, the Joyful, the Sorrowful and the Glorious.

The practicality of the Omniscient Wisdom, places in juxtaposition the Fall of Gog and Magog and the Messianic era, Death and Judgment, Heaven and Hell.

These are the high-lights of a masterpiece in which every symbol, every detail has a definite purpose in furthering the interpretation of the central, the real history of man's life on earth. The liturgical lamentations of Good Friday are stirred up in the sublime summary "Oh, my people what have I done to thee, and what have ye done to me?" The whole Sargent composition is the representation of this rhetorical question and its answer.

The artist has taken the most generally known, the oldest, the most important subject that all true science, history, philosophy, theology, and their offspring records, and has given a masterly expression to its telling until he teaches all beholders the August story, thus in modern times using art as the handmaid of religion as it has always been throughout history.

The catholicity of John Singer Sargent's History of Religion is an interesting manifestation of religious development in an unusual family which has previously given, through Henry Sargent, the mural decorations of the old Franklin Street Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Boston, and a large canvas of the Crucifixion to St. Mary's, Charlestown, and through Sister Genevieve (Emily Sargent) of the Perpetual Rosary Monastery at Catonsville, Maryland, several religious paintings of a high order, the latest to attract attention being a copy of Ruben's Descent from the Cross.

To the merciful judgment of the Omnipotent God he must have loved intensely to have inspired love for Him in so many others from his graphic history, we commend this latest and great American artist and historiographer. Requiescat in pace.

M. T. M.

# NECROLOGY

## HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL BEGIN.

On Sunday morning, July 19, full of years, rich in dignity and good works, His Eminence, Louis Nazaire Cardinal Bégin died after a brief illness. Born at Sarasota in the parish of Levis, Quebec, January 10, 1845, Mother Church took him at an early age, led him successfully through the village school and the venerable halls of Laval to the Gregorian University in Rome and the University of Innsbruck. back as professor of Ecclesiastical History to Laval, thence after eighteen years of service to the principalship of Laval Normal School, to the Bishopric of Chicoutimi in 1888, to the rank of Coadjutor to Cardinal Taschereau in 1891 to the Archbishopric of Quebec in 1898, and finally in 1914 to the Cardinalate.

Of family prestige or social distinction Louis Nazaire had nothing to recommend him for high distinction. His greatest boast was that he had sprung from humble stock. Yet he possessed gifts of intellect, piety and devotion to duty, of zeal for the glory of God, of diligence in the cause of religion that early marked him for advancement; and Mother Church with infallible perception recognizes these qualities in those whom she needs in high places of service and responsibility. The writer of this note who knew him as teacher, counsellor, and lifelong friend would fain write a tribute to his memory; but he yields the honor to the brilliant editor of *Le Canada Français*. Dr. Arthur Robert:

Une existence de quatre-vingt-six ans près, dont soixante passés dans le sacerdoce, un épiscopat de trente-sept années qui eut les honneurs de la pourpre cardinalice durant plus de onze ans, voilà qui se présente tout naturellement à notre esprit au début de ces quelques pages consacrées à la mémoire du regretté Cardinal Bégin.

Au lendemain de sa mort la presse des deux continents fut unanime à vanter les grandes qualités, à célébrer les vertus solides de ce prince de l'Eglise qui jeta tant de lustre sur son pays. On s'est plu ici et là à repéter que la bonne Providence avait comme à plaisir accumulé tous les talents sur la tête de ce petit paysan né d'humbles cultivateurs le 10 janvier 1845. Dons incomparables du cœur et de l'ntelligence, santé robuste faite pour résister à toutes les intempéries, et tout cela agrémenté d'un optimisme du meilleur aloi, d'une distinction rare de manières, laquelle, généralement, est le partage des enfants de princes, tels sont, dirons-nous, les cadres où s'est dépensée cette vie d'homme, de prêtre et d'évêque.

Le bon Dieu si prodigue envers cet enfant fut certes bien payé en retour. C'est dire que le jeune écolier ne laissa point en jachère le champ à lui si largement donné par le Père de famille. Aussi bien les archives du vieux Séminaire de Québec sont-elles là pour témoigner des succès, il est

vrai, mais surtout du travail acharné du jeune Louis-Nazaire Bégin. Il savait, lui, que les talents, si brillants soient-ils, finissent par tuer leur homme s'ils ne sont pas exploités avec méthode et discipline. Et, parce que durant tout son cours classique, il s'adonna entièrement à ses leçons et à ses devoirs de classes, parce que jaloux des moindres instants il ne laissa aucune prise à la paresse, ce jeune finissant qui connut tous les honneurs était, au moment de prendre la soutane, le vrai type achevé de l'homme complet qu'il conserva du reste durant toute sa longue vie. Au fait, tous ceux qui l'approchaient étaient on ne peut plus émerveillés de ses vastes connaissances, de sa conversation aisée, spirituelle et nourrie, de sa bonté exquise, et par dessus tout de sa facilitè d'expression, de la beauté attique de son langage. Qualités naturelles, toutes humaines, héritage des aïeux, mais qualités perfectionnées, affinées au contact des maîtres du grand siècle dont il eut toujours, presque par naissance, la noble allure.

Mais cette riche nature, cultivée d'une façon si intense, lui permit merveilleusement d' être le prêtre que l'on sait. Le naturel et le surnaturel ne s'opposent pas, loin de là, celui-ci, toujours, suppose celui-là. Le sacerdoce vraiment vécu ne s'édifie que sur des vertus acquises, naturelles, qui ne sont, au fond, qu'une honnêteté, authentiquement foncière. Double honnêteté, celle de l'intelligence et celle de la volonté, toutes deux étant la conformité, à la nome immuable, à la raison droite qui est Dieu. Et, alors, tout en gardant son caractère propre, la grâce travaille d'autant mieux qu'elle rencontre moins d'obstacles. Phénomène qui eut lieu, sans heurts, sans difficultés, chez ce prêtre de vingt-sinq ans que les romains, non sans motifs, comparaient au cerf agile, tant était facile chez lui sa puissance d'assimilation servie par une curiosité intellectuelle étonnante et un labeur scrupuleusement suivi.

On peut aisément s'imaginer combien cette lumineuse intelligence dut se perfectionner à l'école des maîtres réputés de la théologie catholique qui à cette époque professaient dans les chaires romaines. Des voyages bien préparés vinrent compléter les études spéculatives. De sorte que revenu à Québec, le nouveau docteur put faire profiter son *Alma Mater* de sa formation tout exceptionnelle. Ici prennent place les années extrêmement fécondes. Enseignement à la Faculté de théologie, direction, entremêlée de ministère paroissial, publication d'ouvrages remarquables, telles sont les diverses manifestations d'une activité sans cesse débordante. Toutefois, n'allons pas croire que chez cet abbé l'intellectuel avait absorbé complètement le prêtre. Non, tout ce qu'il disait, tout ce qu'il écrivait, tout ce qu'il faisait était marqué au coin du plus pur surnaturel. Prêtre, il le fut toujours jusqu'au bout des ongles.

Rien d'étonnant que Rome ait jeté les yeux sur cet homme de Dieu pour en faire le chef d'un diocèse. C'est ce qui arriva en 1888, alors que M. l'abbé Bégin était principal de l'Ecole Normale Laval. Evêque de Chicoutimi d'abord, puis, en 1892, coadjuteur, avec future succession, du Cardinal Taschereau, archevêque de Québec, il succéda à ce dernier en 1898.

*Posuit episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei*, écrit quelque part saint Paul. Oui, c'est pour conduire l'Eglise de Dieu que certains prêtres sont choisis et

reçoivent la plénitude du sacerdoce. Monseigneur Bégin, à Chicoutimi comme à Québec, a certainement conduit, *guidé* son troupeau, son peuple. Rappelons en passant ses multiples lettres pastorales, ses nombreux mandements, traitant tous de problémes importants, parfois épineux, tous d'une forme et d'une théologie impeccables, tous écrits en une langue du meilleur goût, et dont quelques-uns sont de véritables chefs-d'œuvre.

On connait aussi toutes les œuvres opportunes, salutaires, fondées par lui. Création de pluseurs paroisses, et par dessus tout, la fondation de l'*Action Sociale Catholique*. Il fut chez nous le pionnier de la presse franchement catholique. Ce n'est pas le moindre fleuron à sa couronne pourtant déjà si belle.

Sa Sainteté Pie X, qui avait pour l'archevêque de Québec une affection connue, voulut récompenser tant de zèle et tant de travaux en l'appelant à faire partie du Sacré Collège au mois d'avril 1914.

Cette bonne nouvelle causa une joie profonde dans tout le Canada, et même dans toute l'Amérique. Au vrai, ces épaules-là étaient bien faites pour porter la pourpre romaine. Le nouveau cardinal faisait certes belle figure dans l'assemblée des princes de l'Eglise. Et le diocèse de Québec s'énorgueillisait à bon droit de voir son chef siéger à côté de ce que l'Eglise compte de plus illustres.

Le 10 juin dernier, le vénéré Cardinal, dont tout le monde admirait la prodigieuse vitalité qui semblait se moquer des ans, a célébré dans l'intimité le soixantième anniversaire de son sacerdoce. Soixante ans de prêtrise, fait plutôt rare dans un clergé! Tous alors constatèrent avec plaisir qu'il portait allègrement le poids de ses quatre-vingt-cinq ans. Avec quel charme, avec quelle distinction, avec quel à propos il répondit aux compliments d'usage que lui adressa, au nom de son coadjuteur malade et au nom du clergé, S. G. Mgr. J.-A. Langlois, auxiliaire. Ce fut la même facilité, à table, dans sa réponse à Mgr. F.-X. Gosselin, curé de N.-D. de Lévis, qui lui présenta le cadeau du clergé.

On était loin de prévoir qu'un peu plus d'un mois après ce géant serait terrassé en quelques jours.

Et puis surtout nous aimons à signaler ici d'une façon particulière le dévouement que S. E. le Cardinal Bégin portait à l'Université Laval et à ses œuvres. Disons-le, avec un contentement satisfait, il affectionnait tout spécialement notre revue. Et, fait plutôt rare, qui étonnera peut-être quelques-uns, c'est qu'il la lisait fidèlement d'un bout à l'autre. Charitable à l'extrême, il en excusait volontiers toutes les lacunes, connaissant mieux que n'importe qui les conditions parfois désavantageuses où se trouvent ceux qui en ont la charge. Tout de même, jamais il ne leur refusa sa sympathie et ses précieux encouragements. Sa position et son expérience le mirent en lieu de voir et de comprendre toute la nécessité d'une revue universitaire. Nous avons eu maintes fois l'occasion de l'écrire ici, un périodique de ce genre, pour une maison d'enseignement supérieur, est un moyen on ne peut plus efficace de rayonner à l'extérieur.

Aussi sommes-nous heureux de dire publiquement à nos lecteurs tout cet attachement du distingué défunt pour le *Canada français*.

Dans la tâche pénible obscure, que nous poursuivons, il nous faisait bon parfois de compter sur un dévouement semblable. Maintenant qu'il nous a quittés, le souvenir de son appui et de ses bons conseils, la haute et vraie compréhension qu'il avait de notre œuvre, nous seront d'un secours précieux pour entreprendre une nouvelle année.

Pour exprimer notre reconnaissance, le mieux que nous puisssions faire, c'est de le recommander instamment aux ferventes prières de nos lecteurs. Et, sur sa tombe encore fraîche, nous prenons la résolution de combattre le bon combat, de continuer de marcher dans la voie qu'il n'a cessé de nous tracer. Cette voie, c'est celle de la vérité catholique qu'il a enseignée, défendue, avec tant de tact et de zèle; cette voie, c'est celle qui conduit à Rome, centre de la véritable Eglse de Jésus-Christ, dont il fut l'immortel champion et l'une des gloires les plus pures.

## DR. CHARLES FRANCIS AIKEN.

The Catholic University of America has sustained a great loss by the death of Very Rev. Dr. Charles Francis Aiken, who died in Boston, his native city on July 8. He had been ailing for a long period and during the last scholastic year he was unable to conduct his classes. The Right Rev. Rector of the University offers the following tribute to Dr. Aiken's worth in the recently published Annual Report:

Never robust, Dr. Aiken was nevertheless a model professor, devoted to his science and his students. He was one of the first students of the Catholic University (1890-1892). In 1897 he became Instructor in the Faculty of Theology, and in 1900 was received Doctor of Theology, with a yet valuable dissertation on *The Dhamma of Gautama the Buddha and the Gospel of Jesus Christ*, honored by a French translation (1903). He became Associate Professor of Apologetics in 1902, and in 1906 succeeded to the Chair as Ordinary Professor. He was twice chosen Dean of the Faculty of Theology. Dr. Aiken was an admirable professor of Apologetics. To his solid theological knowledge he added a firm grasp of the historical growth of the ecclesiastical sciences. He possessed a judicious and discriminating mind, and followed always very closely the ever-widening range of his important science. In his class work and in his seminar he attached his students to himself very intimately, and possessed the respect and admiration of the whole generation of young priests who sat at his feet in the three decades of his teaching. He contributed valuable articles to the Catholic Encyclopedia and to Catholic reviews. His always delicate health prevented him from undertaking graver labors, but by correspondence, counsel, and direction, he furthered steadily and surely the intellectual growth of many young priests, both in and out of the University. May he rest in peace!

## DR. HENRY JONES FORD.

The passing of Dr. Henry Jones Ford at Blue Ridge Summit, Penna., on August 29, brought sorrow to many not only in the United States but beyond the borders of the Republic, for the deceased was a scholar of international repute.

Dr. Ford was born in Baltimore on August 25, 1851, the son of Franklin and Anne Elizabeth Jones Ford. After graduating from Baltimore College, Dr. Ford became prominent as an editorial writer on the *Baltimore American*. He held similar posts with the *New York Sun*, *Baltimore Sun*, the *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*, and the *Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph*. He was also at one time City Editor of the *Baltimore Sun*.

In 1906 he became a lecturer on Political Science at Johns Hopkins University. Later on he was called to Princeton University as Professor of Politics and held this post up to his appointment as a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission during the second term of the Wilson Administration. Among his many works are the following:

*The Rise and Growth of American Politics.*
*The Cost of Our National Government.*
*The Scotch-Irish in America.*
*National History of the State.*
*Wilson—the Man and His Work.*
*Washington and His Colleagues.*
*The Cleveland Era.*
*Alexander Hamilton.*
*Representative Government.*

His *Rise and Growth of American Politics* has been translated into twenty-nine languages.

Dr. Ford became a Catholic during his professorship at Princeton, being received into the Church at St. Francis Xavier's College, New York City, in 1919.

Dr. Ford was elected First Vice President of the American Catholic Historical Association at the New Haven Meeting in 1923 and succeeded to the Presidency on the death of Gaillard Hunt on March 20, 1924. He was elected President for a second term at the Philadelphia Meeting, December 30, 1924.

Solemn Requiem Mass for the happy repose of his soul was celebrated on Tuesday, September 1, 1925, at the Church of the Sacred Heart, Washington, D. C.

## MR. J. FENDALL CAIN

University circles were saddened Wednesday evening, September 30, by the announcement of the rather sudden death of Mr. J. Fendall Cain, assistant cashier of the Commercial National Bank and auditor of the Catholic University of America. By his death the University lost its oldest official in point of service, as Mr. Cain had been associated with the Institution from its foundation. The CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW has likewise sustained a severe loss as Mr. Cain was its treasurer and ever deeply interested in its activities. A Solemn Requiem for the repose of his soul was celebrated by the Right Rev. Rector of the University in the Crypt of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, at which representatives of the various faculties of the University and a large number of students assisted. After the absolution the Rector delivered a brief but touching eulogy of the deceased whom he characterized as an exemplar of fidelity, prudence and loyalty.

Mr. Cain was 62 years old and had been prominently identified with the banking interests of Washington for 44 years. He attended St. John's College and began his banking career with the old National Bank of the Republic here. He organized the Franklin National Bank.

Surviving Mr. Cain are the widow (née Laura Cecelia Harvey) and eight children: J. Harvey Cain, Secretary to the Administration of the Catholic University; Paul F. Cain, J. Fendall Cain, Jr., H. Edward Cain and Miss Margaret Cain, all of Washington, D. C., and Mrs. Henry B. Froning, of South Bend, Ind., Mrs. Thomas W. Greene, of New York, and Mrs. J. Frank Meegan, of Washington, D. C. Mr. Cain is survived also by two brothers and two sisters, all of Washington, D. C., Paul F. Cain, Bernard J. Cain, Mrs. William Baden and Mrs. Hill Blandford.

# CHRONICLE

## THE OXFORD CONFERENCE FOR CATHOLIC ACTION.

"PAX CHRISTI IN REGNO CHRISTI."

Delegates representing twenty-eight nations gathered together at Oxford from August 10 to 15 for a Conference on the International Coördination of Catholic Action and passed unanimously the draft constitution of a new International Catholic Federation whose aim is to give effect to the principles laid down by our Holy Father, Pius XI, in his Encyclical "*Ubi Arcano Dei*" issued in December 1922.

The Conference was convened jointly by the International Catholic League (I. K. A.), the Union for Catholic International Studies, and the International Office of Catholic Organizations, at the invitation of the British Council for International Relations. By way of prelude to all that follows we give a brief history of the various organizations as it will help our readers to realize the importance of the Oxford Conference and to understand its purport.

The International Catholic League, known as I. K. A. (its initials in Esperanto), owes its existence to two Austrians, Brother Gottwills and Dr. Metzger, co-founders of the White Cross Mission. Its watchwords were Unity and Peace. The first Congress took place at Graz and was attended by delegates from several European countries, who wrestled earnestly with problems confronting them as Catholics. In 1923 the headquarters were transferred to Zug in Switzerland that they might be on neutral territory. The work was introduced into England in 1923 by Sister Pia of the White Cross Mission which she represented at the recent conference.

The Union for Catholic International Studies, whose history and scope have been described in a volume entitled *Catholicisme et Vie Interieure* was founded in 1920 under the special inspiration and protection of Cardinal Mercier is centred in Fribourg, Switzerland, and is spiritually the offspring of the famous Union de Fribourg, founded by the great Cardinal Mermillod, who was born a hundred years ago and died so recently as 1892. It inherits the legacy of the work done at the time of the Vatican Council for the restoration of the Law of Nations, which the English Council for International Relations is again vigorously taking up, aided by the scholarly efforts of the Right Rev. Monsignor Pfeiffer, canon of the Cathedral of Kaschau and, we dare venture to state, the outstanding figure in the recent Oxford Conference. It has held conferences at Paris (1920 and 1921); at Fribourg (1922); at Milan (1923). Its dominating figure is M. de Reynold to whom the organization owes much of its usefulness.

To-day the special province of the Union is to watch Catholic interests in connection with the League of Nations. As Fr. Martindale tells us, it became apparent early in the history of that organization that several

theorists, not Catholics, wanted to make of the League a sort of Super-State, as M. de Reynold says, if not a Super-Church. "Nor can it even now be denied that the due pre-occupations of the League encounter at a hundred points the line of morality in the widest sense, and that therefore the Church cannot possibly dissociate herself from its doings. Not only quite definite questions like that of Upper Silesia, of Poland and Lithuania, or, here and there, like the status of the clergy or of schools, directly concerned the Church, but the whole new international law which the League is half-consciously, it may be, creating also concerns her, who was the first creatrix of a *Societas Civitatum*. Persons, problems, and principles are continually in play, which cannot leave the Church apathetic."

Successive conferences in Paris, Fribourg and Milan enabled M. de Reynold and his collaborators to survey the ground pretty thoroughly, and by 1923 the Union which had begun by being largely Franco-Belgian, had enlarged its borders and defined its purposes. It took recruits from all countries alike and set itself to the special task of serious intellectual work rather than of popular propaganda.

In May, 1922, the League of Nations had created an International Commission of Intellectual Coöperation. Towards it gravitated all manner of Utopists, intellectual intriguers (so to call them) academic socialists, freemasons, and cranks. Dreams of an international university, an international bureau of education, school text-books, a universal language, and what not, were found flitting round the heads of the luckless members of the Commission.

Happily, upon it were serving M. de Reynold himself, M. Halecki, of Warsaw, and M. Gaston Castella, of Fribourg, all sane and instructed Catholics. Not least owing to their wise action, the Commission kept free of the dreamers. Not only it recognized at once the enormous importance of the Catholic tradition, philosophy, and possible individual contributions, but displayed towards Catholics more than perfect impartiality, namely, true good will. An instrument of interaction was clearly necessary. The Union, by creating, at Mgr. Beaupin's instance, a Catholic commission of intellectual coöperation, supplied this. Eminent men of nearly every great country serve within it. Already certain important recommendations, formulated by it, have been welcomed by the League of Nations Commission. M. de Halecki himself has written a chapter in the volume mentioned explaining more in detail what that Commission is and aims at.

It is of especial interest to note that not only, on M. de Reynold's motion, has this Commission decided that "free," that is, other than Governmental, or (in the concrete) Catholic Universities shall be listened to equally with the official ones, but, the "Pax Romana," or international confederation of Catholic student groups, has been received favourably, and has been promised that its petitions or recommendations on behalf of its constituents shall be attended to. In this way the desires of Catholics can regularly and efficaciously reach a very powerful body of experts in whose hands much of the Catholic future rests.

The Central Bureau of Catholic Organizations is located in Rome, directed by Dr. Monti. It was established as a sort of clearing-house for Catholic activities, to secure coördination and to prevent overlapping. Its labors have resulted among other things of importance in the compilation of a most valuable *Manual of Catholic Organizations*, which was published last year in six languages.

The Catholic Council for International Relations is the result of a conference held in October, 1923, at Reading, England, under the patronage of His Eminence Cardinal Bourne and the presidency of His Lordship the Bishop of Portsmouth. At that conference it was resolved to devise means whereby Catholics in Great Britain might, first by study among themselves, next by collaborating with their co-religionists abroad, contribute effectively towards the unity of Catholic Action throughout the world for the maintenance of just and charitable relations between nations.

A scheme designed to achieve this object met with the unanimous approval of the Archbishops and Bishops of England at their annual meeting in Low Week, 1924.

The Catholic Council for International Relations now duly constituted and at work, consists of representatives of the following societies, and of experts whom they have co-opted:—

Catenian Association.
Catholic Association.
Catholic Confederation.
Catholic League of South London.
Catholic Missionary Society.
Catholic Social Guild.
Catholic Stage Guild.
Catholic Truth Society.
Catholic Union.
Catholic Young Men's Society.
Catholic Women's League.
Federation of University Catholic Societies.
Guild of SS. Luke, Cosmas and Damian.
Knights of St. Columbia.
Ladies of Charity.
Lingard Society.
Westminster Catholic Federation.

The main purpose of the organization is "the Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ."

It is to this Council that is due the credit for bringing about the Oxford Conference, and much of the credit for its success. In response to its invitation the following representatives were present, the largest foreign delegation being that of the National Catholic Welfare Conference of the United States. The following is a list of the official delegates:

INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC LEAGUE (I. K. A.)—Rt. Rev. Mgr. Pfeiffer, M. Georges de Noaillat, M. Mayr.

CATHOLIC UNION FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES.—M. Gonzague de Reynold, M. l'Abbé Gremaud, M. de Montenach, M. l'Abbé Van den Hout, His Excellency M. di Pauli, M. Dupraz.

INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF CATHOLIC ORGANIZATIONS.—Rev. Dr. Monti, Mr. Crowe, Mr. Mara.

SOCIETY OF THE SOCIAL REIGN OF JESUS CHRIST.—Madame de Noaillat.

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF FEDERATION OF CHARITY.—Rev. Dr. Kissling.

INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC BULLETIN.—M.. l'Abbé Flajollet.

PAX ROMANA.—M. l'Abbé Grémaud.

AUSTRALIA.—Messrs. Kennedy and Smythe, of the Australian Catholic Federation.

AUSTRIA.—Dr. Schreyvogl, Fräulein Schoebel, and Dr. Josef Lehri, of the Central Committee of Catholic Austria.

BELGIUM.—Père Muller, S.J., the Abbé Van den Hout, and the Abbé Verpoorten.

BRAZIL.—Father Joaquim Nabuco.

CANADA.—The Abbé Coté (of the Action Catholique Sociale de Quebec).

CHINA.—Mr. Albert Yong.

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA.—Mgr. Canon Hanus, Mgr. Canon Pfeiffer, and M. Szuleo.

EGYPT.—Mr. Kyan, of the Egyptian Catholic Union.

FRANCE.—Dom Cabrol, O.S.B. (of the Ligue Catholique Française pour la Justice Internationale).

GERMANY.—Count Preysing, Herr Carl Winkel, and Fräulein Dr. Peerenboom, representing the Central Committee of Catholic Germany.

GREAT BRITAIN.—Father Martindale, S.J., Mr. Edward Eyre, K.C.S.G., Mrs. Halford Hewitt (C.W.L.), Mr. Herbert Ward, and Mr. John Eppstein.

HOLLAND.—Mr. P. J. S. Serrarens.

HUNGARY.—Mgr. Stephen Madarasz (secretary of Cardinal Czernoch, the Primate of Hungary).

INDIA.—His Grace Mgr. Kandathil, Archbishop of Ernakulam; the Rev. Dr. Panjikaran and Captain Rupert Hay.

IRELAND.—The Rev. Dr. Coffey and Mr. F. T. Sweeney, of the C.T.S. of Ireland.

ITALY.—The Rev. Dr. Monti of the Central Office for Catholic Organization, Rome.

LATVIA.—Mgr. E. Stukels.

LITHUANIA.—The Abbé K. Matulaits.

LUXEMBURG.—The Rev. Canon Mack.

MEXICO.—The Abbé Amaya.

POLAND.—Professor Fiederowitz.

SPAIN.—Canon Montero Diaz.

SWITZERLAND.—Herr von Matt and Dr. Bukler.

UNITED STATES.—The Rev. Dr. James Hugh Ryan, of Washington; Rev. Dr. P. W. Browne, Dr. Lapp, and Mr. Foster Stearns, representing the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

YUGOSLAVIA.—The Abbé Kuhar (for Slovenia), Fathers Messaritch,

S.J., (for Croatia) and Miss Christitch (who also acted for Rumania as the delegate substitute for the Rev. Prince Vladimir Ghika).

The list does not include any visitors from several of these countries who, though not delegates with the right to vote, assisted in the discussions.

SECRETARIES TO THE CONFERENCE.—M. l'Abbé Couturier, Herr Emil Winkler.

Oxford lends a dignified setting to a Conference and particularly to a Catholic international gathering. During the Long Vacation an atmosphere of quietude prevails. The colleges are closed, and naught save the tread of tourist feet disturbs the quietness of their halls and cloisters. There is an air of repose about these ancient buildings, some of whose walls have echoed to the voices of Grosseteste, of Roger Bacon, of William of Wykeham, Saint Richard of Chichester. From some of these ancient halls went out the most renowned statesmen-ecclesiastics in the later Middle Ages, layers of the foundations of the law of nations. Hither came the great humanist, Aneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who ruled Christendom as Pius II. Here, in a later day, came also Achille Ratti, who, as Pope Pius XI, has called the nations of the earth to enter into the kingdom of Justice—*Pax Christi in Regno Christi.* It was fitting then that Catholics representing most of the great nations of earth should have come to this ancient seat of learning to restate Catholic principles concerning race and nationality.

Oxford gave the Conference a kindly welcome. The sessions were opened with Pontifical Benediction and the *Veni Creator* at St. Aloysius' Church on Monday evening, August 10, followed by a reception at Wadham College Hall. It was necessarily informal owing to the crowded condition of the Hall. When the Pro-Vice-Chancellor Dr. Phelps, Provost of Oriel and the Deputy Mayor of Oxford entered, followed shortly afterwards by His Eminence Cardinal Bourne, Patron of the Conference, the occasion resolved itself into a speech-making assembly with Father Martindale, S.J., as master of ceremonies.

The speech of the Pro Vice-Chancellor painted a picture of the ancient University—its genius for hospitality, its culture, the width of its appeal, the range of its accomplishments. He recalled that the youth of every nation under heaven go to Oxford, and in effect offered I. K. A. a friendly challenge to prove its gathering a more international one than the University could produce. He once more noted, too, amidst cheers, that the present Holy Father had studied in Oxford's libraries and had dined in its halls. The members of that Conference, he added, would, he was certain, find during their stay much of happiness, of instruction, and of joy, and would realize how great was the force of Oxford's tradition in shaping men's lives and moulding their characters. They would all, he trusted, take away with them, among the impressions of their stay, something akin to a feeling of affection for the University of which they once were strangers but now were friends. The Pro-Vice-Chancellor was followed by the Deputy Mayor, whose brief speech of welcome was reminiscent of the fact that it had fallen to his pleasant lot to welcome officially a previous

Catholic gathering, when the Franciscans celebrated at Oxford their seven-hundredth anniversary.

### The Cardinal's Counsel.

To the academic and civic representatives succeeded His Eminence Cardinal Bourne. They had heard, he said, gracious words of welcome on behalf of that ancient University and that ancient city; he also had a welcome to offer, on behalf of the Catholics of England and Wales and the Catholic hierarchy of England and Wales. International Conferences, said His Eminence, were the order of the day; and they deserved a hearty welcome on account of the opportunities they afforded for mutual intercourse; they were, perhaps, the most potent means of rebuilding those courtesies of civilization which had been so sadly shattered by the war. There was no greater solvent of prejudice, no greater means of building up mutual esteem, than that of converse between man and man, from whatever nation they might come. That Conference ought to exercise a power for good not given to many; because, whatever differences there were among them in history, language, and other things, they were absolutely at one on first principles: the unity and identity of their religious faith was a basis of certainty from which true effusions ought to flow.

But the Cardinal had also a word of caution. Where principles were in question, he emphasized, they would all be agreed; but where deductions from principles came into play there might be strong divergencies of opinion. "There is in these matters," said His Eminence, "one motto to be adopted. *Festina lente*: Go slow and be very careful not to commit yourselves too rapidly or too readily to definite conclusions." The Conference was approaching, he continued, the discussion of questions which had been discussed in past centures by many great students and theologians, and they had now to be re-discussed in the light of new conditions. His Eminence concluded by a reference to two circumstances, one of joy, the other of sorrow. When in Rome last May he had had the opportunity to speak with the Holy Father on the subject of the I.K.A. gathering at Oxford, and, as they knew, he had afterwards received a letter, since published, conveying from Pius XI, to every aspect of the Conference, the Apostolic Blessing. The other event was that one who had arranged to participate in their gathering (Bishop Fischer-Colbrie of Kaschau) had been lately called to his reward. His Vicar-General was present, and to him and his nation they offered their heartfelt sympathy. His Eminence, bidding the Conference a hearty welcome, prayed Almighty God that its labors might be fruitful towards building up that place among the nations which must surely be the desire of every Christian man.

### Speeches by Foreign Representatives.

So far, the speeches had all been in the English tongue; but for the remainder of the evening, the assembly took on its international character in a series of short addresses in some half-dozen other languages, including Latin. One by one Father Martindale summoned representatives

from France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Hungary, Finland, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, the United States; and within the Empire, India, and the Irish Free State. During the time available most of them responded. In general the note of the speeches was that of thanks and appreciation, and a stressing of the oneness of the common faith and the Church's power for international good. In more formal terms came a letter of greeting on behalf of the Prince Primate of Hungary; and Chevalier de Noaillat, K.C.S.G., a president of I.K.A., read a message in which eloquent homage was paid to Cardinal Bourne and to Oxford. Each of the speakers stood as a unit in a sum of common purpose. A multiplicity of languages was in its effect in this case just the opposite of that produced at Babel. Instead of a confusion of tongues I. K. A. gave us, through many forms of speech, a harmony of spirit; and but for the diversity of language the harmony would not have been so apparent or so significant. Some of the speakers were already well known by their work and writings—the Rev. Dr. Monti, for example, Director of the International Office of Catholic Organizations; and Miss Christitch, chronicler and champion of all that makes for the welfare of Yugoslavia.

On Tuesday morning the Mass of the Holy Ghost was said by the Bishop of Pella in the presence of the Cardinal Archbishop,—and there was a brief sermon by Father Martindale who set the key to the foreign sections of the deliberations. Taking his text from St. John: "Peace I leave with you; My peace I give unto you; not as the world gives, give I unto you," he said:

"Three things are clear. The world is not at peace; the world professes to seek peace: Our Lord declares He gives us peace, and leaves us. But since He also says that this peace is not to be like the one it seeks or offers, it is further clear that the world is mistaken, probably as to what it seeks, and certainly as to the way of seeking it.

"This week, men and women of some thirty countries are bound together by their Catholic Faith and sometimes by it alone, and transcending many a sentiment or passion, memory, or fear, that might hold, or even tear them apart, have met with the desire to help to establish the 'Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ.' We thank them for coming, thank them for this triumph over difficulties of distance, of language, even of finance—this triumph above all over self."

At the first general meeting of the Conference, held on Tuesday afternoon in Wadham College Hall, with the Bishop of Pella in the chair, there was a large attendance both of delegates and members of the Conference and students of the Social Guild Summer School (which was holding its sessions at the same time in Ruskin College). During the meeting two papers were read, one by Dr. James Hugh Ryan, of the Catholic University of America, a delegate from the National Catholic Welfare Council of the United States, the other by Professor Ebers of the University of Cologne. We regret that only a brief summary of the latter is available.

## DR. RYAN'S PAPER.

### NATIONALITY.

I have been asked to speak on Nationality. At the very outset may I say that I approach the problem from the angle not only of a Catholic, but of an American Catholic. As a Catholic, the dogmatic and ethical principles which underlie an acceptable analysis and expression of nationality, as well as the limitations which must be put upon such an idea, are a common heritage of all of us. As an American, I look towards the practical aspects of the question from an acquaintance with nationalism as it is understood by Catholics in the United States. That nationalism, like every other movement or idea, may be abused and is abused, no one doubts; that the true meaning of nationalism is often distorted and is made a cloak to cover wicked and unjust deeds need not be questioned; that no two peoples have precisely the same conception of the duties and obligations of nationality is a patent fact. But that nationalism, understood as an American Catholic understands it, is anti-Christian, immoral, and unjust, that it is, as some one has said, "the next heresy to be condemned" is something quite unintelligible. It is true that we have not had the intimate contact with the manifold manifestations of nationalism such as most European countries have experienced. To us, therefore, the word scarcely connotes all that it does to the Continental mind. However, we have been struggling for a long time trying to weld together into a nation the hetrogeneous elements which make up our vast population. We feel we have achieved nationality; we are no less certain that we are to-day a nation; we have developed likewise a philosophy of our national existence. We are not, however, in such a position that we are committed irrevocably to one particular theory of nationality, and emphatically we are not committed to an extreme interpretation of nationalism which would either exalt our nation at the expense of all other nations to make of us in the end but another of the great imperialisms which have disgraced the history of mankind, or which would, on the other hand, submerge the nation in a nebulous association of peoples from which all individuality, freedom, and national responsibility should from the very beginning be excluded.

Historically, nationalism as we know it to-day is a product of the French Revolution. The patriarchal empires of antiquity, as well as the feudal states of the Middle Ages, never approached identity with any cultural or national entity. What is more, the universalism of the Middle Ages was in great contrast to the modern idea of a national state. Dante's "De Monarchia," picturing a universal state and a universal church, was the dominant ideal of the times. The dynastic states of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were a result of the commercial revolution brought about by the great discoveries and the revival of trade, and in no sense of the word a product of the Renaissance or the Reformation.

With the French Revolution begins the era of national states. The bourgeoisie, revolting against the power of kings and emperors, raised the

cry of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, and succeeded in overthrowing, in a series of bloody wars, the despotism of their old rulers and erecting in its stead the democratically governed state. Professor Hayes describes the revolution in thought in the following words: "By the French idea of fraternity every European country was soon affected, so that formerly latent sympathies were galvanized into a most lively sentiment and theorists from the domains of history or philosophy or even of economics could find popular approval for their solemn pronouncements that people speaking the same language and sharing the same general customs should be politically united as nations." The revolutionary contagion, originating in France, spread to every country of Europe and to both Americas, and from the wars of the early nineteenth century arose the great and small nations of the world to-day. The development and spread of nationalism in the modern world is due to two principal factors—democracy and the industrial revolution. Democracy changed the political thinking of the people, industry transformed their economic life. Both of these great tendencies have resulted in various and conflicting theories of nationality, and have pointed the way in some cases either to imperialism or to internationalism as the logical conclusions of a people's emphasis on different aspects of the nationalist philosophy.

No conception of nationality which contravenes or contradicts the truths of Christianity can be acceptable. If nationality is of itself opposed to Christian belief, then the sooner it be done away with the better. But who shall say that we cannot state, at least in the abstract, a doctrine of nationalism which is in perfect accord with the truths of the Gospel? As a matter of fact, such a concept, founded on Christianity and directed by Christian philosophy, can be stated. Being Christian, it is the only conception of nationalism which we can subscribe to, as it is the only kind of nationalism under which we can live and help to promote.

At the basis of every true nationalism stands, as its secure and lasting foundation, the truth of the solidarity of the human race and of the dependence of every creature upon every other creature. We were created men, not Americans, Europeans, and Africans, and as men we are bound to each other by a tie which has its origin and its sanction not in the human but in the divine will. Divisions based upon race, color, or language are all subsequent to the original unity of the human race; they are good in as far as they promote that unity, and they may be evil in the proportion in which they act as divisive factors, as elements sundering apart the inviolable unity of mankind. That this is Christian doctrine, no one possessing even a superficial acquaintance with the Gospels can call into question. The "brotherhood of man" is the bed rock principle which must govern and direct both our view of human nature and our everyday relations towards other men, viewed either as individuals or as members of an organized society.

The unity of mankind, this essential and far-reaching solidarity of which we speak, exists for two fundamental purposes. In the first place, the protection, development, and general well-being of the individual hinges

upon an acceptance of this great truth. If each man were a microcosm, he would be expected to lead his own life over and above, as well as outside, any assistance from other men. He would thus necessarily become self-centered, egotistic, and what is quite as bad, perfectly futile. Given, however, the fact of this solidarity with others, his education and well-being begins and grows apace as a coöperative enterprise in which not only he but all men play a part. Again, mankind is a unit in the interests and advancement of the race as a whole. This latter purpose is beyond question the larger and greater end of human existence. The individual is called upon at every step to serve this all-embracing purpose of the race, and in serving it he, at the same time and *pari passu*, develops and accentuates his own personality. There is no redemption, either of the individual or of the race, from the suicidal vice of selfishness except by service in the interests of others. A world in which selfishness reigns supreme would be a world unfit either for men or beasts. But let us accept a conception of the universe in which one acknowledges its essential and inherent purposiveness, there follows immediately the truth that every act of the individual affects not only the individual himself but every other individual with whom he comes into contact; that is, his acts affect his family, his neighbors, his community, his state, his nation, all nations, the entire world.

By an instinctive urge of human nature man makes secure this solidarity for which he seeks by the formation of families, groups, states, and nations. We not only owe our physical existence to our parents; to the family which protects, defends, and develops our heritage of common human interests and is, as it were, the core about which is built our national existence, the center from which radiate those truths which are our guide and our salvation, we owe a great debt both of appreciation and of protection. The nation has been an inevitable outgrowth of the conditions under which families live; it is at the same time the surest bulwark which the family possesses against the many evils menacing individual existence. These conditions, geographic, economic, social, cultural, and religious, account for the grouping together of families under a political organization which embodies their collective views of law and order, their economic and social aspirations, their cultural impulses and religious beliefs. A national union, therefore, is in the last analysis but a step forward which a race takes in its progress towards unity and solidarity. In a word, a nation is a people living and acting as a unit, and just as the individuals who make up a nation possess the right of self-government, self-expression, and self-preservation, so the nation which concretizes their collective wills and purposes has the right of self-government, of self-expression, and of self-preservation. Of the essential morality of nationalism defined in these terms, no Christian can doubt. If nationalism so defined is wrong then the Christian world-view is wrong and we are thrown back into a maelstrom where selfishness rules and unity becomes either an unattainable aspiration or a worthless ideal.

I venture to assert that as Christians we are called on to love the nation which embodies our individual and collective aspirations, our cultural his-

tory, a common language and very often a common religion. Love of country or patriotism flows as a necessary corollary from the principles just stated. However we must love with moderation and according to the laws of justice. Again, as love of self does not entail hatred of our neighbor, so love of country does not mean hatred or despisal of other nations. Justice fixes, and within readily discernible limits, the amount of love we must bestow on our country, as well as the attitude we must take towards foreign countries. Nationalism, therefore, is not a rigidly fixed system of ideas or of acts, a supreme end in itself, the attainment of which *eo ipso* justifies any and all things which may be done under its name. The good of the nation is a proper end; it is an end which must be defined and regulated, however, by taking due consideration of a higher principle to which it is subordinated, the law of justice. To attempt to apply the principle of nationality in any absolute sense, that is, without any regard for other and higher purposes, or to seek to achieve national outcomes by any and all means which may come to hand, is to erect into a guiding principle for our national life the vicious doctrine of might over right, and the no less vicious theory that the end justifies the means.

Every Christian must acknowledge that the law of justice outweighs every consideration based solely on the so-called rights of nationality. The state, as the individual Christian, is bound by the great fundamentals which underlie all human rights and all human responsibility. In the first place, the state as a whole may not transgress the rights of other states; it is bound even at the cost of great sacrifice to serve the greater whole, the well-being and advancement of the race. Neither may the state be so tyrannical that on occasion it violate the inherent human rights of the very least of its subjects. This doctrine is contrary to that of Hegel, for whom the state was supreme, was an organic being which possessed rights other than those of the individuals who make it up, and in the pursuit of these so-called rights it had unlimited power and could with impunity negative any personal right which conflicted with its own supreme purposes. Such a philosophy of nationalism, the organic conception of the state, is palpably false. It is a heresy, pure and simple, and as such deserves condemnation. That many modern nations have acted and guided their policies towards other nations and their own subjects along Hegelian lines, contemporary history proves only too well. The rise of industrialism has favored such nationalistic aggressions. A widespread acceptance of this false philosophy, too, has made it easy for us to submit to the injustices which have followed in its wake. The present-day world, I believe, is awakened to the folly of such a belief and condemns in forcible terms the injustices perpetrated under its so-called authority. There should be no place in the modern world for this un-Christian ideal of the state. And whether this ideal comes to us in the guise of a well developed and respectable philosophy or in that of merely popular and fanatical jingoism, we must reject it in the name of justice and of truth.

Unfortunately, every nation has its false philosophies of nationalism, yet ths falsehood should not close our eyes to the truth of Christian na-

tionalism. Every nation, too, has its jingoes, who, like our own Decatur, shout, "May my country be always right in its relations with all nations; but my country, right or wrong." And I need scarcely add that such exaggerated self-sufficiency is miles removed from the true love of country which should burn brightly in the heart of every patriot.

Nationalism is generally looked upon as a right; a sovereign right, it is called. Few indeed question the right of a nation to do all that lies within its power to promote its own and the welfare of its citizens. Too much or unwise insistence upon a people's rights, however, to the exclusion of the proper emphasis on their duties towards others can only result in a narrow, one-sided conception of nationality, and as often as not eventuates in manifest injustices. Christian thought recognizes no rights which do not carry along reciprocal obligations. National rights, therefore, run parallel with national obligations, and no nation can be true to its better self which overemphasizes its rights or refuses to recognize fully its obligations. The tendency to exaggerate national interests has been in the past an altogether too prominent characteristic of the policies and activities of many nations. Under such specious pleas as national honor, the protection of national interests, the safeguarding of territorial integrity, the spread of democratic ideals, crimes have been committed against weaker neighbors and justified before the world as the necessary consequence of a proper appreciation of what nationalism entails. True nationalism, on the contrary, gives rise to a balanced policy wherein rights and duties play a mutually helpful role. An exaggeration leads inevitably to the development of an attitude wherein a people concentrating too much upon themselves and their interests see blindly and act wrongly. Unquestionably there arise situations in which the national need must be regarded as supreme. Such situations are the exception, more exceptional than the average politician is willing to admit. The citizen who does not countenance every act of his government merely because it was done under the impulsion of a false reading of the nation's rights, is no less, in fact he is a better patriot than one who closes his eyes deliberately to the morality of his country's acts and follows her lead because she so commands.

There is little need to call your attention to the sin of selfishness or to emphasize the fact that selfishness may be not only the sin of an individual but of a nation as well. Modern history is crowded with examples of national selfishness and, as Pope Pius XI has pointed out repeatedly, it is unnecessary to go further in the search for the cause of most of the evils which afflict the world to-day. Selfishness runs like a bad thread through the whole fabric of the national life of some peoples. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that they are blind to every ideal and deaf to every appeal except one which can be turned to their advantage. Thus, the individual citizen is often intent solely on his own welfare; he uses every one to advance himself. The family employs its power at the expense of immediate neighbors to make the family rich and powerful; the nation, either through deliberate official act or through the uncensored acts of its citizens abuses its power to impose on the needs or weaknesses of other nations, to

open up opportunities, as they say, for the nation's business or the nation's influence. In each of these cases the acts are wrong, but the selfishness of a nation is more flagrant violation of the canons of justice than would be the acts of a mere individual. And the reason why national selfishness is more sinful than individual selfishness is because it entails more serious and more widespread hardships and injustices.

Nationality need not connote selfishness, need not lead to injustices. A nationalism built upon and guided by the principle of human solidarity cannot degenerate into the disgraceful chauvinism which right-thinking men must at all times deprecate and condemn. The humanity of all mankind, the oneness of our race, the common justice by which we are all bound—these limit, oblige, and exalt nationality. When nationalism recognizes fully these principles of justice and governs itself accordingly, we need have no fear that it shall ever refuse to appreciate its obligations towards all the world, or that it shall fail to maintain with every resource at its command its own rights against unjust aggression from whatsoever source such aggressions may arise.

The world is indebted to the Christian Church for a correct evaluation of human personality. To her is due the philosophy which recognizes the supreme place that always must be accorded human personality in any correct construction of human affairs, needs, and purposes. The universe is not a world of blind forces acting according to blind law, the control and direction of which are outside the range of the human will.. There are mechanical forces in this world, over which we have little or no control, it is true. But there are likewise human forces, originating in man, directed to purposes known and approved by man, and to be judged good or bad as they attain ends which are in themselves good or bad. For this reason man stands at the very center of the universe. And the union of all men in one great family is a conception founded on Christian philosophy, and can only be maintained if Christian philosophy is maintained.

The Church did not work out this philosophy of the dignity of human nature from purely rational postulates, nor did it inherit the belief from the ancient Greek philosophers. The Christian conception of the solidarity of the human race is a truth which has been brought home to us only by the Incarnation. This dogma has influenced men's thinking and lives because when they accepted the Divinity and Humanity of Christ, they believed a truth to which they could not subscribe, were they to deny the universal brotherhood of man, for whom the God-Man came to suffer and to die. The truth of the Incarnation is a sacred truth; in a less degree the truth of the oneness of the human race is sacred. And nationalism must respect both these truths; in fact, it cannot respect one without respecting the other. Nationalism, therefore, gives us no right to violate this truth and its consequent obligations, but rather it places upon the nations the responsibility of living and following it. And this responsibility is an obligation that, above all things, regards solicitude for the weak, both because such solicitude is a moral obligation on every nation and because in no other way than by helping those weaker than ourselves can our own life

and self-expression as a nation be extended and fully protected. Nationalism, therefore, as a Christian understands and interprets it, has its place, a great and honorable place. We could not advance save by our loyalty to it. But nationalism is circumscribed by the very power of which it is such a holy part. It is a step towards the higher and fuller realization of our common humanity, exalted into a living kingdom of equal men here, because it is the expression of the Kingdom of Christ that is to be.

Dr. Ebers said in discussing "Nationality as Recognized by Modern Treaties":

The declarations of President Wilson had been adopted by all belligerents as suppositions for the armistice and consequently as terms of peace. The consequence was that all stipulations therein about national questions were recognized as legal standards obliging every nation to follow them. They were: all questions concerning territories should be decided only by "free acceptance" by the people immediately concerned and the protection of national minorities should be regulated only according to the maxim of equal rights. This programme for national questions however was but very rarely realized. The maxim of "free acceptance" by the people in question has been for the greatest part neglected, when the new frontiers were drawn without any plebiscite, sometimes ethnographical, sometimes historical frontiers being considered sometimes natural, sometimes arbitrary frontiers being drawn. When a plebiscite took place and the maxim of national self-determination seemed to be obeyed, voting was admitted only in larger electoral areas, arbitrarily determined, giving no real indication, considering the opposition of town and country. On the other side, where plebiscite after communities was accorded, the will of the population, the geographical and the economical situation should decide the issue. The consequence is, that nearly everywhere national oppositions are prevailing more than before. The problem of nationalities, which the peace treaties should decide, got more entangled, above all in Middle and Eastern Europe. Also the second problem: protection of national minorities is not uniformly regulated, but very variably. In the peace treaties some states were bound to protect their national minorities, whereas others do not recognize such an obligation, consequently are not hindered in any way from taking the nationality from their subjects, who belonged to another nation, by officials, schools or by the language of the state.

The determinations of protection say: all inhabitants without any difference of birth, nationality, race, language or religion are guaranteed; protection of life and freedom and practicing religion; all subjects shall enjoy equality before the law, concerning civilian and political rights, free use of language, in private and commercial affairs, in divine service, in the press and at public meetings. National minorities shall have "reasonable" or appropriate facilities, shall be entitled above all, at their own expense, to form beneficial, social or religious institutions and private schools. Minorities living in considerable numbers, shall be accorded appropriate facili-

ties at public and private schools by teaching in the mother-tongue and a fair share in public means for purposes of religion.

The former demands: protection of life and freedom, legal equality, free use of language in private trade mean nothing new for Middle Europe; as to the other demands, ancient Austria-Hungary at least had fulfilled them, even granted more rights than the new decisions of protection do now. Thus those demands can only mean progress for the states outside the former Austrian territories.

Apart from the fact that there is in the territories of the great powers no protection for their national minorites there would be another objection:

The insufficient care for the private school instruction of minorities, which may be given by masters belonging to another nation, there being a danger of taking from them their nationality, whereas secondary schools enjoy no special protection, so that private institutions may be refused equal rights. Above all every proper self-administration is missing, self-determination in the sense of the peace treaties not being possible. But self-administration in the municipalities and bigger communal units is the only and most important protection of national minorities against their sufferings by majorities and by officials not belonging to the same nation, and by military service in territories far away from the territory of their own language.

But even these few rights will not be accorded, as formal legal protection is totally insufficient as the practice shows. For instead of an active legitimation of minorities and procedure in an international court of justice only the great powers represented in the council of the League of Nations are authorized to cause it to interfere, when the decisions for protection of minorities are not observed or endangered. Complaints of minorities themselves are made known only for information to the accused state to express its opinion, but without being obliged to do so and without any official publication being necessary.

In this way all decisions of protection are totally useless, national minorities are totally exposed to an arbitrary taking from them their nationality, if one of the great powers does not interfere in its own interest.

### The Education Question.

A morning meeting for Catholic women was held in Wadham College Hall under the presidency of Miss Balfe. of the Committee of the C. C. I. R. A part of her valuable service was to translate the substance of the various speeches from one language into another, the proceedings being partly in English, French, and German respectively. It was not the fault of the sectional bodies that to some extent their subjects here and there overlapped in interest.

The women's meeting, after a few words from Miss Balfe, heard in the first place an important address, in German, from the Comtesse Walterskirchen, of Vienna, a prominent worker in the Austrian society for furthering education among women. Among many points in an interesting address, she urged that Catholic philosophical principles should enter more

largely into education for girls, and that careful but true sex instruction should be given by the parents; a re-statement should be made of the ideals of Christian marriage on the basis of our new psychological and physiological knowledge. Also the speaker made a point that there should be a greater effort to bring out the Christian ideal in the lives of women who do not marry, impressing on them the value of such lives to the community; in this way, she said, something would be done in meeting the problem of surplus women. The Countess pleaded for the development of a right spirit of comradeship and friendship between men and women. The sexes, she mantained, could no longer be separated and ought not to be separated; but their relations must be sanctified according to the Christian ideal.

The next speaker, Madame de Noaillat, who dealt with the social reign of Christ. She was followed by Mlle. Regnier, directress of the Catholic Social School at Berlin, who discussed the development of the individual; and afterwards, from the body of the hall, there were brief remarks by two ladies from America—Miss Hackett, a barrister, of Detroit, and Mrs. Barton French. From Miss Hackett the meeting heard particulars of the work for social development performed by the women's section of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

After a short summing-up, Miss Balfe put from the chair, as an expression of the opinion of the meeting, a resolution by the Comtesse Walterskirchen: "That Catholic education for girls, whilst re-affirming the sanctity of Christian marriage, should also be directed towards awakening the social conscience, and that youth should be taught that their individual sanctification should find expression in the service of their neighbors."

### School Questions.

Hardly had the ladies' meeting come to an end when another audience was ready to take its place in order to deal with matters directly affecting Catholic education and the interests of our schools and teachers. This meeting, which had Father Verpoorten, from Belgium, for its chairman, was more truly a "conference" of its constituent parts than any of the previous meetings. There were many speakers, both priests and laymen each of whom had something to say and said it briefly; and for the benefit of those present who had no German or French as the case might be, Mgr. Canon Pfeiffer was again invaluable as a summarizer and translator. The addresses explained methods of Catholic educational action, suggested lines of protection and defense against anti-clericalism and other menaces, asked for more Catholic educational literature, and generally went to the making of a meeting which was evidently useful by the interchange of ideas and aroused keen interest on the part of those present. Among other things it should make Catholic educationists in this country anxious to know more of the German Catholic school organization which has its centre at Düsseldorf. The meeting was easily, in earnestness, animation, and practical worth, one of the best of the gatherings.

### Peace and Charity.

For its second main session, in the afternoon of Wednesday, the Conference had to consider the question of the principle of Nationality in relation to the rights of the individual and a society as a whole according to Christian doctrine. Abbot Cabrol, O.S.B., of Farnborough, presided, with Dom Justin McCann, O.S.B., as an auxiliary; and the lecturer was the Rev. Dr. Mack, Director of the Seminary at Luxembourg. In the course of his paper he urged that faith and politics should not be dealt with as sundered from one another. Peace and Charity were twin sisters; and Catholic principles must sway all action towards the ends that made for Peace. The paper was in large part a plea for charity, and for envisaging an international Christianity against what Dr. Mack described as the Bolshevik conception of nationalism. "We are all national," he said, "but not 'nationalist'; modern, but not 'modernist.'" Catholic principles should strive to make themselves manifest everywhere—in Parliament, in the press, in all possible quarters. Preachers, journalists, fathers of families—all were as units in one immense family working together for good.

### Christ the Social King.

In the evening a third assembly took place in the same hall, under the chairmanship of Father O'Hea, S.J., and with the Right Rev. Abbot Cabrol, O.S.B., of Farnborough, as one of many distinguished members of the audience. The occasion of this meeting was an address by Chevalier Georges de Noaillat, K.C.S.G., of Paray-le-Monial, for the further propagation of the society already established for many years at that famous devotional centre, the "Society of the Social Reign of Jesus Christ." Speaking in his native tongue, and in an address supplemented from time to time by Madame de Noaillat, this well-known French layman told the story of the work begun at Paray-le-Monial and in progress for some fifty years past, having for its object to regenerate Christian society by recognition of the social reign of Christ—"Christ the Social King." He spoke of the museum gathered together in the French town, and of the sacrificing labours of a young Spanish baron who gave practically his all, in wealth and zeal, for the extending of the devotion; and he invited the audience to make pilgrimage to Paray-le-Monial, when he (the speaker) hoped to have the pleasure of doing the honours of the town for them. An effort is being made to obtain from the Holy See, which has already approved and indulgenced the work of the Society, some liturgical act by which a feast day of Our Lord as Social King may be declared for the Church. This proposal has already had the support of six hundred Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops, and further lay adhesions to the memorial were asked from the audience at Oxford. During the evening two messages were read: one a letter from His Eminence Cardinal Laurenti, commending and blessing the purpose of the meeting; and the other a message which M. de Noaillat proposed to send, through Cardinal Bourne, to the Holy Father, offering homage and begging that the petition for a feast and liturgical office might find favour.

At the public meeting held on Thursday afternoon Professor O'Sullivan, of University College, Dublin, dealt with the knotty problem "Self-determination—the Principle of Nationality as a claim to Political Sovereignty." He said in part:

Nationality represents as much what a group desires to be as what it is, and it often desires independence. Much of the controversy about whether such a group is, or is not, a nation is due to a feeling that this claim to independence is involved in nationhood. And this feeling has on the one side stimulated nationalism, and on the other led to efforts at its suppression. A nation possesses something like personality, a feeling of oneness, a conviction that the group cannot be happy when divided up or when subordinate to strangers. All these things are most useful factors in strengthening the political unity called the State. Statehood, however, does not form portion of the very definition of nationality, and the task set us to-day is to investigate how far every Nation ought to be a State. Nationality was a strong political force in the nineteenth century, and has by many come to be regarded as the sole factor to determine questions of political allegiance. How long this will last is not for us now to decide. The statesmen of the Congress of Vienna have often been censured because they neglected nationality, which was destined to be one of the strongest forces in the century that followed their attempt to provide a lasting settlement for Europe. Is it not possible that in professing to pay such exclusive attention to this very principle some of the important forces of the coming age may have been neglected? Perhaps. But risks must be taken, and men must act according to the best lights. We can hope that the work so far as it is based on this principle, though it may not be permanent, is not destined to be all lost.

Good political habits, sound traditions, strong loyalties are necessary to the continued existence of a modern state. Something more is required than the mere machinery of government, and this "something more" nationality can supply. Their customs help to distinguish and shape the different nations, and customs are as essential to the state as are positive laws. The consciousness of belonging to the same nation is what will hold a people together even when the political bond of the state is destroyed. All this goes to show that a vigorous, healthy national feeling is most useful to the modern state—and the healthier the individual state, the healthier the community of states. The principle of national self-determination in so far as it can be applied, makes under modern conditions for stability. Bad patriotism is bad preparation for citizenship of the world.

Vague cosmopolitan sentiment or a world empire are not acceptable substitutes for individual national states. National egoism may, of course, be carried too far, so as to cause much damage, and perhaps some form of world federalism may be the solution of the distant future, a federalism in which each nation is given its due consideration. Chauvinistic nationalism, anæmic cosmopolitanism pulverising imperialism, none of them contains the truth. At the present time and in the conditions that now prevail both the dictates of sound policy and of justice would seem to demand as wide a

recognition of the principle of national self-determination as possible. The onus of bringing forward their proofs is on those who reject it. Remembering that the state now enters into so many activities of the national life it is not easy to see how a nation can preserve its national individuality without independence. This principle of national self-determination—that the nation should be taken as the unit in determining political allegiance—seems to fit in well with modern democratic conceptions. And though democracy is by no means the only legitimate form of government, yet it is to-day accepted by most civilized peoples, and so has the authority that belongs to the established order. Its excellence is not an ethical first principle, but it seems to fit in better with our modern needs than other forms, which theoretically might claim to be equally sound. Much the same may be said of the principle of self-determination—an excellent working principle for this age and for other ages with similar conditions.

Even those who reject the principle that government must be by the consent of the governed will admit that government must be in the interests of the governed; and a people may be gravely hurt in their spiritual as in their material needs; and to-day the satisfaction of national aspirations may be and often is a very important spiritual need. For many small nations, if they have not their independence, the practical alternative unfortunately is not citizenship of the world, but absorption in a nation.

* * * * * * *

The principle of self-determination is not one of the primary axioms of Ethics which could claim to be independent of time and circumstance. It is a subordinate principle, suited to modern times, which enables us to treat concrete cases as belonging to Justice. It must itself not violate the demands of justice, and where it does not do so, it can in modern conditions among civilized peoples claim to impose obligations. Uncivilized peoples have their rights, their political rights, and these should not be violated, but it is doubtful if much can be won by connecting these rights with the principle of nationalities.

It is a characteristically modern type of error to try to solve questions of great concrete complexity by one principle alone, when in reality several may be applicable. This is sometimes done with the principle of national self-determination. In and by itself the possession of a distinct nationality is in modern times a strong presumption in favour of sovereignty, but to make the concession of independence a duty, something more is required. This something more is, of course, often present, even as one of the consequences of the possession of distinct nationality, for at the present time it may be in practice impossible to avoid what is technically known as "intolerably" oppressive whilst keeping a nation in subjection There is no reason why the assimilative power of the Church should not be able to reconcile this principle, this force, with her own principles, though she may find it necessary to purge some forms of nationalism of objectionable elements.

Owing to the lateness of the hour the paper by Monsignor Pfeiffer of Kaschau, "Colonization in the Light of Christian Principles," had to be

omitted. Dr. Pfeiffer's paper is a valuable contribution to the study of International Law and we are in possession of the Latin text. Space precludes us from publishing it at the present time.

### The Nation and the State.

Friday morning brought a well-attended meeting at which the aspect of "The Nation and the State" was considered. Two papers had been announced: one by Herr Doka, editor of the *Schweizirsche Rundschau*, Zurich, and the other by Father de la Brière, S.J.; the latter, however, was unable owing to illness, to attend. Herr Doka, in his paper, pointed out that many factors have influenced and determined the formation of existing States and the delimitation of their frontiers. Nationality in the sense of a common race and language is only one of them. An important factor has been the geographical one. Mountains and rivers and seas have determined often where a frontier shall be placed, irrespective of the racial character of the peoples on either side of it. Other factors might be mentioned that have played their part in dividing peoples of one race between two or more states. Looking at the situation of to-day, we see that in many of the states of Europe there is not the ideal national state of one race and language, and that often its formation is impracticable. We find two or even more national elements in the one state, and we even find these two races so intermingled over wide regions of territory that it would not be possible to draw a frontier line which would divide them. Often one race is in a minority, and sometimes the nation forming the minority in one state is in a majority in an adjacent state. We have thus a situation which may become a serious danger to internal and international peace.

Herr Doka then discussed in detail the question of the best way of securing internal peace in states of mixed nationality, maintaining the rights of minorities, and avoiding international strife arising from racial conflicts in such states. He suggested that Switzerland supplied an example of a successful solution of these problems, and this because the Swiss Confederation laid it down in its constitution that every Swiss was equal before the law; and further, that all the three languages of the country were equally recognized as the languages of the nation. In a country where, as often happened, there were, beside linguistic and racial differences those of religion, it was necessary that the equality before the law should not be affected by anyone's individual religious profession. Each racial element must also be free to use its own speech and to teach it in its schools. There were, of course, practical difficulties in securing the full observance of these ideal conditions, but in Switzerland they had been solved. The speaker discussed the provisions for the protection of racial minorities contained in the Covenant of the League of Nations and the Peace Treaties. The essential point was that these securities should be a reality and that racial minorities should feel they had the security of international as well as national law for their right to equality and the development of their own traditional life. Incidentally Herr Doka touched upon the difficulties which may arise from a minority of another kind existing in a state—such as that

of trading colonists enjoying special privileges and exemptions in Eastern countries. Here the essential point was that these privileges should be defined and taken advantage of only for the protection of the foreign minority, without any attempt to use them as a lever for dominating the native majority and interfering with its own national life.

On Friday evening a learned paper by Professor Le Fur, University of Renues, was read by Madame de Noaillat owing to the author's inability to be present:

LE PRINCIPE DE RACE ET DE NATIONALITE DANS SES RAPPORTS AVEC LA DOCTRINE CHRETIENNE SUR LA REBELLION ET LA GUERRE.

Dans une discussion juridique sur ce sujet, il faut tout d'abord écarter le terme de race. Si on le prend au sens précis du mot, l'identité de caractéres physiologiques, la communauté d'origine et de sang—qui n'est d'ailleurs en fait jamais réalisée dans un grand Etat—la race n'a rien à voir avec la question qui nous occupe; elle ne présente en soi aucun caractère juridique, elle ne suppose aucune organisation politique, aussi longtemps du moins qu'elle n'est pas liée à la notion toute différente de nation. Souvent, il est vrai, par un abus de langage flagrant on prend le terme de race dans le sens d'unité morale, de personne juridique, c'est-à-dire de nation. Alors bien entendu les deux termes se confondent puisqu'on leur donne la même signification mais c'est là une façon de parler anti-scientifique; pas plus que l'unité de langage ou de religion l'unite de race ne suffit pas à elle seule à constituer une entité politique et juridique; le fait ne se produit, là ou la race joue un rôle, que lorsque, grâce à l'intervention d'autres éléments plus ou moins nombreux, elle a pris corps en un organisme politique; de ce jour elle est devenue une nation ou un Etat et c'est à ce titre que le droit public en connaît (Voir mon étude: *Races, Nationalités, Etats*, p. 22 à 27, 65, 93, 150).

Cette notion de race écartée, restent les groupes qui se réclament du principe des nationalités. A quoi répond l'idée de nation? A un ensemble complexe, visant dans les cas les plus nets, à la fois l'unité de race, de territoire, de mœurs, de langage et de religion—dans d'autres cas quelques uns seulement de ces caractères—mais auxquels vent toujours s'ajouter une volonté de vie commune, un "vouloirvivre collectif"; donc toute une série de caractères auxquels il manque seulement pour compléter l'Etat, l'existence d'une autorité politique reconnue, la présence d'un organe compétent pour dire le droit et le sanctionner (*Races*, &c., p. 61 *et s.*, 97 *et s.*).

I.

Quels seront les rapports de la nation et de l'Etat là où, par suite de circonstances toujours regrettables (car l'idéal est évidemment la concordance de l'unité morale et juridique, le sentiment national constituant alors le meilleur support de l'Etat), tous deux se trouvent séparés par le fait d'un arrêt de développement de la nation, ou d'un obstacle apporté à ce développement par un Etat puissant?

Comme pour les rapports entre individus et Etats, nous nous trouvons ici

en présence de deux théories absolues: en première ligne, un nationalisme subjectiviste, dont la conséquence extrême aboutit directement à l'anarchie, avec un droit de sécession exercé en toute indépendance par chaque groupe nationalitaire, exactement comme l'individu change à son gré de nationalité; c'est alors l'erreur révolutionnaire, la liberté pour tout et pour tous, c'est-à-dire un moyen érigé en fin suprême (*Races*, &c., p. 58 *et s.*, 74 *et s.*, notamment p. 79 à 82, système du plébiscite et sa critique).

A l'extrême opposé, nous rencontrons l'étatisme absolu, la théorie en vertu de laquelle l'Etat, seul qualifié pour représenter tous les besoins collectifs des individus, le fait en toute souveraineté; la volonté du souverain, monarque ou peuple (c'est-à-dire en ce cas de la majorité) vaut par elle-même; l'Etat est seul juge de l'étendue des sacrifices à demander aux individus ou aux groupements secondaires en tant qu'il veut bien en tolérer quelques uns; c'est alors la théorie de la souveraineté absolue l'Etat divinisé comme chez Rousseau ou dans l'école allemande du dix-neuvième siècle, et c'est exactement, en sens inverse, la même erreur que précédemment, l'autorité, simple moyen en vue du bien commun, prise comme l'unique fin (*Races*, &c., p. 110 *et s.*).

L'un comme l'autre de ces systèmes est contraire à la raison et aux faits, la vie ne comporte pas de solutions aussi tranchées. Une conciliation entre ces deux notions de liberté et d'autorité est indispensable; aucune d'elles n'a une valeur absolue; le but de l'organisation sociale n'est ni une liberté anarchique, ni une souveraineté despotique, mais bien le bien commun du groupe, réalisé conformément à la loi naturelle, qui s'impose aux gouvernants comme aux individus. Ou bien la loi positive est une pure forme vide, une décison quelconque des gouvernants sanctionnée par la force—ou bien il faut reconnaitre que son caractére obligatoire repose sur la conformité à un droit objectif ou naturel antérieur et supérieur à la volonté des hommes, gouvernants comme gouvernés.

La doctrine chrétienne est très ferme sur ce point. Elle se condense en deux affirmations très nettes, tempérées par deux réserves non moins précises. Elle pose à la fois la liberté et l'autorité, elle affirme leur nécessité à toutes deux, donc aussi leur conciliation nécessaire. Pour elle, l'homme est une fin—non pas une fin en soi, c'est le cas de Dieu seul—mais il est la fin des institutions humaines, donc aussi de la société. Son "éminente dignité" le met au-dessus du reste de la nature; mais il ne la conserve qu' à la condition de se conformer à sa loi propre. L'Etat, comme la famille ou l'Englise même en un sens—en tant qu'elle a pour misson de conduire l'homme à sa fin spirituelle—ne sont que des moyens destinés à lui permettre d'atteindre sa fin, son plus grand développement physique, intellectuel et moral; le bien commun, c'est-à-dire le bien de tous, voilà donc le grand but de l'Etat; il dit le droit et le sanctionne pour contraindre les récalcitrants—il y en aura toujours en fait—à le respecter. L'Etat doit reconnaître la dignité de l'homme, être moral; mais celui-ci doit respecter l'autorité parce qu'il est un être social et qu'il n'y a pas de société nombreuse possible sans autorité.

A côté de ces deux affirmations, viennent maintenant les deux réserves,

également indispensables. L'Eglise veut la liberté et l'autorite mais elle condamme à la fois la liberté et la souveraineté absolues, prises comme fins et non plus comme moyens en vue de procurer le bien commun, but de tout organisation sociale. Toute opposition entre l'individu et l'Etat se présente sous la forme d'un conflit de volontés; mais il n'est pas de volonté humaine autonome, souveraine; il n'en est pas qui ne doive respecter la loi morale; l'Etat comme l'individu n'ont de droit que conformément à leur but, le bien commun, parmi les éléments duquel bien entendu figure en première ligne le bien moral.

Mais l'individu et l'Etat sont-ils les seuls à avoir des droits, à l'exclusion de tout groupe intermédiaire, du moins sur le plan temporel? Non; l'homme est un être social, et l'Etat n'est pas le seul à représenter les intérêts collectifs; cette affirmation a été la grande erreur du dix-huitième siècle, erreur très généralement reconnue aujourd'hui. Il existe en dehors de l'Etat d'autres sociétés, dont quelques unes, comme la famille, sont elles-mêmes naturelles et nécessaires. Et ce caractère de nécessité est vrai d'autres collectivités encore, de l'Eglise par example, sur le terrain spirituel—ou bien, sur le plan temporel, de certaines sociétés intermédiaires; les groupements professionnels sont une nécessité de fait dans la société industrialisée de nos jours, avec sa division du travail intensive; et il en est de même des groupements politiques secondaires; communes et provinces, cercles ou colonies constituent, dans les grands Etats modernes, un intermédiaire indispensable entre l'individu et l'Etat et en fait, les deux premiers de ces groupes sont le plus souvent bien antérieurs à lui comme antiquité.

Toutes ces collectivités secondaires, au nombre desquelles il faut faire rentrer la nation partout où elle possède une certaine organisation politique sont-elles à la discrétion de l'Etat, toujours libre de leur accorder la vie ou de la leur retirer à son gré, par la même qu'il leur reconnait ou non une personnalité légale? Non; ce n'est pas l'Etat qui crée la personnaliteé juridique, pas plus pour les associations que pour les individus ou pour lui-même; il se borne à constater ses conditions d'existence, qui sont la présence d'intérêts collectifs et d'une volonté ayant pour mission d'en poursuivre l'accomplissement. L'existence de ces deux conditions est une question de fait; la loi positive doit la reconnaitre là où elle existe et, en ce cas, de même q'uelle n'a pas créé la collectivité, il ne lui appartient pas d'ordonner sa suppression, en dehors de l'hypothése où son activité s'exercerait de façon contraire au bien commun honnêtement interprété. A part ce cas, et sauf des circonstances tout-à-fait exceptionnelles ou, comme pour les individus en temps de guerre, le salut du groupe le plus étendu peut exiger le sacrifice presque complet de quelques uns de ses membres, en principe ces derniers out droit non seulement à l'existence, mais à tout le respect de leur liberté compatible avec le bien commun.

L'Etat n'existe en effet que pour garantir les droits des individus et des groupements divers, familiaux, professionnels ou politiques, sans lesquels pratiquement ils ne peuvent vivre. Ces groupements, qui ont une vie politique analogue à celle de l'individu ont, comme lui aussi, un minimum de

droits, d'ailleurs susceptible, toujours comme pour lui, de beaucoup varier suivant les temps et les pays. L'ordre d'évolution historique est que, en règle générale, et abstraction faite bien entendu des périodes troublées, ces droits vont plutôt en s'accroissant. L'individu dans l'Etat moderne a plus de droits que celui de la Cité antique, qui n'a pas de droits à faire valoir contre l'Etat et ne possède guère,, en fait de droits publics, que celui de participer à la formation d'une volonté générale toute-puissante—et encore bien entendu à condition qu'il soit homme libre et non esclave. Depuis la séparation des pouvoirs spirituel et temporel introduite par le Christianisme et qui, suivant le mot de Fustel de Coulanges, a soustrait à l'Etat une moitié de l'homme l,individu n'a plus seulement le droit à la vie, ni même à la liberté physique par la suppression de l'esclavage, mais il possède beaucoup d'autres libertés aujourd'hui considérées comme nécessaires dans tout Etat civilisé, la liberté religieuse, les droits de réunion, d'association, &c.

Il en va exactement de même pour les collectivités. Longtemps elles ont été sacrifiées à l'Etat. Celui-ci réclamait à leur égard une liberté absolue de disposition, une souveraineté juridique uniquement tempérée, en fait, par la résistance que la dite collectivité était capable de lui opposer. Et si l'Etat voulait bien encore parfois fermer les yeux sur le fonctionnement de certaines associations de peu d'importance, son droit absolu de les créer ou de les supprimer était tout particulièrement maintenu à l'égard des associations d'ordre politique, surtout bien entendu quand, en vertu de leur importance ou de leurs traditions historiques, elles pouvaient être amenées à s'élever contre lui et à poser une limite à ses droits, et c'est précisément le cas de la nation, là où elle ne se confond pas avec l'Etat. Jusqu'ici en réalité, quant à leurs rapports respectifs, il n'y avait guère d'autre loi que celle de la force, et les exemples abondent encore au dix-neuvième siècle, sans même quitter l'Europe, de la Pologne à l'Irlande ou de la Finlande aux principautés balkaniques.

Si aujourd'hui, et c'est à l'honneur de notre siècle, on a tenté de soumettre ces relations entre Etat et nation à la règle du droit, il ne s'agit encore que d'un essai timide et d'une affirmation plutôt théorique. Elle est déjà d'un intérêt immense, même du point de vue de la pure partique, puisque c'est ainsi que s'introduisent les règles nouvelles; en droit international comme en droit interne, ce n'est qu'une fois désirées, appelées par l'opinion publique, nationale ou internationale, qu'elles arrivent à passer peu à peu dans le droit positif. Mais, faute de sanction efficace, son applcation relève encore trop souvent de la bonne volonté des Etats en jeu; là même où certaines garanties ont été édictées dans un traité international, en cas de refus ou d'impossibilité d'intervention des Etats garants, la situation de la nation (ou du groupe ethnique ou religieux) qui voit ses droits violés par l'Etat souverain dans le territoire duquel elle est comprise, sera pratiquement la même qu'auparavant; c'est-à-dire qu'elle n'aura guère à compter, en dehors des manifestations d'une sympathie reélle peut-être mais sans effet, que sur ses propres forces.

Comment donc pourra se résoudre le conflit? Là où il est aigu, en présence de la volonté énergique de la nation de défendre ses droits (soit

historiques, soit peut-être reconnus par traité ou par la constitution même de l'Etat), et du refus non moins net de l'Etat souverain de les lui accorder —à défaut d'un tribunal international obligatoirement compétent pour trancher ces conflits et si la Société des Nations ne croit pas pouvoir intervenir—aujourd'hui comme auparavant toute solution juridique étant exclue par hypothèse, il ne reste plus d'autre mode de solution que le recours à la force. La nation opprimée proteste d'abord contre la tyrannie dont elle est victime; puis ses protestations restant inutiles, si elle se croit assez forte pour réussir, elle passe à la lutte ouverte; c'est donc alors la rébellion ou la guerre.

Existe-t-il un intérêt juridique à cette distinction? On ne le voit guère. A moins qu'on ne veuille la faire correspondre à celle fait par certains théologiens entre la résistance active et passive; mais cette distinction paraît reposer sur une base bien frêle. Comme le remarque Locke avec beaucoup de bon sens, "Comment peut-on résister à la force et à la violence sans donner des coups?" La seule question en jeu est celle de savoir si les violations du droit sont suffisamment graves, volontaires et multipliées pour justifier une résistance ouverte; mais en ce cas, toute forme de résistance est licite et, si la résistance active offre seule des chances de succès, on ne voit pas quel principe empêcherait d'y recourir.

En réalité, la distinction entre guerre et rébellion paraît procéder d'une pure question de degré. On parlera plutôt de rébellion là où la résistance n'est le fait que d'un petit nombre d'individus—de guerre au contraire là où c'est toute une nation qui entre en lutte. La rébellion de quelques citoyens décidés peut d'ailleurs, en se généralisant, entraîner la guerre; à ce point de vue il existe entre ces deux notions une différence analogue à celle qu'établit le droit international entre les cas où il y a lieu ou non de reconnaître à une force armée le caractère de belligérant. Mais comme, par hypothèse, nous nous occupons en ce moment de conflits entre Etats et nations, il ne peut s'agir que de mouvements d'ordre national, qui méritent en principe le nom de guerre et non celui de simple rébellion.

Peut on voir dans le guerre la sanction du droit des nations opprimées? Si l'on entend par sanction un moyen juridique d'assurer l'exécution du droit, la guerre ne constitute pas une sanction à proprement parler. Elle est l'application du droit de justice privée, droit incontestable pour qui, individu ou groupement, se trouve en état de légitime défense et ne peut recourir à un juge public; mais il faudrait alors parler de guerre juste ou légitime, comme on parle de légitime défense (V. ma *Guerre juste et juste paix*, notamment p. 68 à 85); la guerre, en soi, n'est que le recours à la force et son résultat peut être d'assurer le triomphe de l'oppresseur sur le bon droit. Bien mieux, alors même que la guerre s'était déjà en partie dépouillée de sa barbarie primitive—du moins dans les ouvrages de doctrine et les traités conclus à son sujet—elley retournait trop souvent dans les luttes entre nation et Etat, ce dernier se refusant à reconnaître le caractère de belligérants à ceux qu'il prétendait considérer comme de simples révoltés.

Comment se manifeste l'amélioration, du moins théorique, à laquelle il

était tout à l'heure fait allusion? Il y a lieu de l'étudier dans les idées d'abord, puis dans les faits.

I.—Le mouvement des idées a consisté à appliquer aux conflits entre Etats et nations les principes qui viennent d'être rappelés et qui depuis le triomphe du christianisme, constituent le fondement du droit dans les pays civilisés. Le pouvoir doit être exercé en vue du bien commun, but de la société; l'autorité sociale doit respecter la dignité de l'homme, fin et non moyen aux mains des gouvernants. Si donc ces derniers exercent leur pouvoir en vue d'intérêts particuliers (et il faut entendre par là non seulement leur intérêt personnel mais aussi les intérêts d'un groupe plus fort ou plus nombreux qui, contrairement à la notion de bien commun, se refuse systématiquement à tenir compte des intérêts d'un groupe plus faible qu'il s'est asservi), il y a abus de pouvoir, l'autorité sociale est détournée de son but, le bien commun; si la partie de la nation opprimée ne peut arriver à se faire rendre justice, le devoir d'obéissance, à l'égard des gouvernants cesse; le droit de sécession apparaît comme un ultime recours; il n'est autre chose en somme que la phase extrême du droit résistance à l'oppression exercé par un groupement territorial (*Races*, &c., p. 74 *ets.*).

Certes l'exercice du droit de résistance, soit par des individus, soit par des collectivités, est toujours chose extrêmement regrettable; il ne faut y avoir recours qu'à la dernière extrémité; mais on ne peut alors se refuses à le reconnaître puisque autrement on aboutirait, comme c'est le cas chez Kant, à consacrer la pire tyrannie. Il y a là une question de mesure qui s'impose. Il ne saurait être question ici de traiter en détail du droit de résistance à l'occasion de son application aux conflits entre Etats et nations; un rappel des principes suffira.

Le droit de résistance a été affirmé avec la plus grande netteté par l'Eglise; là comme ailleurs elle apparaît comme initiatrice de progrès et comme une des principales créatrices des bases de l'ordre public moderne. On a parfois prétendu qu'elle imposait un respect sans limites de l'autorité, considérée comme de droit divin, et on cite en ce sens un texte célèbre de Sant Paul: "Que toute personne soit soumise aux puissances supérieures; car il n'y a point de puissance qui ne vienne de Dieu; et les puissances qui subsistent ont été établies de Dieu. C'est pourquoi celui qui s'oppose à la puissance, s'oppose à l'ordre que Dieu a établi; et ceux qui s'y opposent, attireront la condamnation sur euxmêmes" (Ep. aux Romains, XIII, 1 et 2). Mais si l'on veut bien passer aux versets suivants, on constate, sans qu'il puisse y avoir d'hésitation possible, que Paul vise le pouvoir en soi et qu'il le suppose toujours exercé en vue du bien: "Car les princes ne sont pas à craindre lorsqu'on ne fait que de bonnes actions; ils le sont seulement lorsqu'on en fait de mauvaises. Veux tu donc ne pas craindre les puissances? Fais ben, et tu en seras loué..... Car le prince est le ministre de Dieu pour ton bien; mais si tu fais mal, crains, parce qu'il ne porte point l'épée en vain, car il est ministre de Dieu et vengeur pour punir celui qui fait mal" (versets 3 et 4).

Saint Thomas d'Aquin n'est pas moins net dans sa distinction de la légalité et du droit. Traitant de la guerre civile, il déclare que les coupables

sont ceux qui la provoquent et la poursuivent, et non pas ceux qui résistent en vue de la défense du bien commun. Il n'hésite pas à dire que le véritable séditieux, c'est le tyran qui sacrifie le bien commun à ses intérêts particuliers Et il conclut que "le renversement d'un régime tyrannique n'a donc point le caractère d'une sédition à moins que, par hasard, l'opération n'engendre un désordre plus nuisible que la tyrannie elle-même" (*Somme* 2-2, q. 42 a. 2, c. et ad 3; *de Regim.* 1, 6).

On peut dire que c'est la doctrine constante de l'Eglise. Elle vient d'être tout récemment rappelée et résumée dans une brochure très condensée qui donne en appendice quelques textes empruntés aux auteurs les plus connus, clercs ou laïcs.[1]

Objectera-t-on que ces textes relatifs au droit de résistance se placent presque toujours dans l'hypothèse d'une résis ne à l'oppression exercée par des individus, et non pas par une collectivité nombreuse comme une nation, cas où la résistance présente une beaucoup plus grande gravité pour l'Etat, car ce n'est pas seulement, lorsqu'elle réussit, le titulaire du pouvoir qui est en jeu, mais bien l'unité même de l'Etat?

L'objection ne porte ancunement. Non seulement une révolution peut parfaitement mener, elle aussi, à une rupture de l'unité de l'Etat; mais le fait même que la résistance émane de toute une nation au lieu d'être l'acte de quelques individus, vient au contraire renforcer singulièrement l'argumentation. Il y a deux choses en effet à craindre dans l'exercice du droit de résistance; d'abord une erreur individuelle toujours possible, l'acte d'un fou comme Ravaillac ou de quelques hommes aveulgés par leur intérêt personnel; et en second lieu, s'ils sont peu nombreux, la crainte d'un insuccès qui pourra être une cause d'aggravation du désordre ou, par représailles, de recrudescence de la tyrannie; de sorte que, dans les deux cas, le remède aura été pire que le mal (*cf.* Saint Thomas, cité dans M. RIQUET, p. 42).

Or, à ces deux points de vue, la situation d'une nation est beaucoup plus favorable que celle d'individus isolés, une erreur de jugement individuel n'étant plus à craindre quand il s'agit de tout un peuple, et les chances de succès de la résistance étant alors beaucoup plus considérables. Certes, il faudra toujours, même en ce cas, une extrême prudence; la gravité même des circonstances peut exiger une stricte application des principes; même quand c'est une nation qui est en jeu, il peut être dangereux de se fier exclusivement à la décision unilatérale des intéressés, toujours quelque peu suspects de partialité. L'avis d'une autorité impartiale, d'arbitres ou de conseillers sages et compétents, donnera toujours beaucoup plus de poids aux revendications émises.

C'est la situation où se trouvait la Chrétienté au Moyen âge; elle reconnaissait tout entière au Pape une autorité incontestée qui allait, dans les cas extrêmes, jusqu'à lui permettre de délier les sujets du serment de fidélité à l'égard d'un souverain indigne. Et l'intervention du Pape avait d'autant plus de poids qu'en dehors même de son autorité morale il ap-

1. MICHAEL RIQUET. *Sa Majesté la loi. Le droit contre la loi.* (Paris, 1925).

paraissait à l'égard de certains Etats qui s'étaient déclarés vassaux du Saint-Siège comme exerçant certains droits de suzeraineté politique. Il est clair qu'aujourd'hui, si le Pape a toujours la même autorité morale, au point de vue politique, sa situation est bien différente et il sera souvent le premier à préférer ne pas avoir à se prononcer dans un conflit d'ordre exclusivement politique; c'est même une des principales objections qui puissent être apportées à l'entrée du Saint-Siège dans la Société des Nations; s'il y participait dans les mêmes conditions que les Etats, il serait amené, souvent sans aucun profit pour son autorité, bien au contraire, à prendre parti sur les questions les plus diverses d'ordre purement temporel.

En raison pure donc, d'après les principes mêmes reconnus comme formant le fondement du droit des pays civilisés, à la question de savoir si le droit de résistance existe au profit d'une nation qui est l'objet d'une véritable oppression ou d'une tyrannie intolérable la réponse ne peut être douteuse; l'application seule sera parfois délicate; nous allons voir dans un instant ce qu'a tenté de faire à ce sujet le droit international positif. J'ajouterai seulement, avant d'y arriver, une remarque qui, sauf toujours les difficultés d'application, paraît elle aussi, indiscutable en théorie; c'est que, en droit international comme en droit interne, de même que tout individu a le droit parfois le devoir de venir à l'aide d'une personne qui se trouve en état de légitime défense, de même, tout Etat qui peut le faire sans trop de danger et de façon utile, peut intervenir en faveur d'un autre Etat victime d'une injuste agression. C'est encore ici l'Eglise qui, la première, dans une proposition fameuse du Syllabus, a réhabilité le droit d'intervention, universellement répudié par les juristes à la suite de trop nombreux abus, que d'ailleurs cette répudiation excessive à son tour, n'arrêtait pas en fait, tout en portant atteinte à la vérité théorique. Et non seulement l'intervention est légitime quand c'est à l'existence d'un Etat qu'il est porté atteinte par un autre Etat, mais elle l'est aussi quand il s'agit d'une collectivité d'un autre ordre, nation, groupe ethnique ou religieux, dont les droits essentiels sont violés par un pouvoir tyrannique, car une violation des règles fondamentales de l'humanité intéresse la société des Etats tout entière.[2]

II.—Le droit international positif moderne a-t-il pris parti sur ces problèmes d'une telle importance théorique et pratique, et si oui, que décide-t-il, ou en tout cas en quel sens se dirige-t-il? Sur tous ces points, après une période d'hésitation, il semble bien qu'il s'est maintenant nettement orienté; les solutions des moralistes, philosophes et théologiens, appuyées par un nombre de juristes de plus en plus grand, tendent de plus en plus à le pénétrer et, sinon encore toujours à prévaloir, du moins à s'opposer nette-

2 Voir mes deux études: *Philosophie du droit international* (*Revue générale de droit international public*, Nov. 1921, p. 591 *et s.*); *Le droit d'intervention et la Société des Nations* (*Scientia*, Mars 1924)—et les auteurse citiés; ajouter l'ouvrage de M. Kebedgy sur le droit d'intervention et, à propos d'une application particulièrement importante, celui où M. Mandelstam étudie les rapports entre les puissances alliées et la Turquie à la suite de la guerre de 1914 (d'abord paru dans la *Revue générale de droit international public*, 1923-24)

ment aux solutions anciennes de la politique à base de force. On reconnaît de plus en plus que l'Etat n'est pas une entité absolue, que si le droit international public a bien directement pour objet les rapports entre Etats, la fin dernière du droit international comme de tout droit est l'individu; par là même s'impose la reconnaissance des associations dont il ne saurait se passer pour vivre et se développer; et l'Etat, s'il est l'une plus importantes d'entre elles, n'est pas la seule.

La tentative de soumettre à la régle de droit les rapports entre l'Etat d'un côté et de l'autre les individus et leurs autres groupements, entraînait nécessairement le rejet de la notion de souveraineté absolue de l'Etat qui a constitué longtemps le plus dangereux écueil du droit public, interne et externe; cette notion amenait le rejet a priori de toutes les doctrines en contradiction avec elle, même les plus commandées par la raison et les faits, comme le droit de résistance et le droit d'intervention (défini comme précédemment). Après de longues luttes, l'abandon de ce faux principe peut aujourd'hui être considéré comme un fait acquis, un peu pour toutes les écoles, depuis le positivisme juridique jusqu'au droit naturel.[3]

Le premier acte important qui ait traduit dans les faits la supériorité du droit international sur la souveraineté absolue de l'Etat, c'est le traité de Berlin de 1878, qui affranchit plusieurs principautés balkaniques, améliora le sort des autres, et imposa aux nouveaux Etats des garanties de liberté religieuse en faveur de certains de leurs ressortissants. Les traités qui ont mis fin à la grande guerre sont beaucoup plus nets encore en ce sens—tous, d'une façon générale, mais plus particulièrement encore le traité de Sèvres, dont malheureusement le manque d'entente des Alliés a si vite amené le remplacement par le traité de Lausanne, bien inférieur à ce point de vue. Ils inaugurent une triple protection visant spécialement les minorités ethniques, linguistiques ou religieuses, c'est-à-dire les trois questions qui, unies ou séparées, ont toujours été celles qui ont donné lieu aux plus vives revendications autonomistes. Et depuis, la Société des Nations n'a fait que continuer cette œuvre de protection des minorités, devenue un de ses plus beaux attributs; les minorités israélite, bulgare, grecque, arménienne, ont déjà éprouvé les bienfaits d'une protection dont l'efficacité augmentera avec la force même de la nouvelle institution. Ici encore, je ne puis qu'indiquer en quelques mots le schéma d'une évolution que nous voyons s'accomplir sous nos yeux.

Le premier stade aura été la reconnaissance du caractère de belligérants

---

3 Voir *Races, Nationalitiés, Etats*, p. 110 *et s.*, 120 *et s.*—Parmi l'une des plus récentes manifestations de cette tendance, aujourd'hui nettement dominante, v. James W. Garner, Des limitations à la souveraineté nationale dans les relations extérieures (*Revue de droit international et de législation comparée*, 1925, p. 36 et s.) et les auteurs cities p. 37 (note 1—notamment Ch. Dupuis, *Le droit des gens et les rapports des grandes puissances avec les autres Etats avant le pacte de la Société des Nations* (p. 482 *et s.*). Le chef de l'école positiviste juridique, M. Duguit, va plus loin encore, trop loin même par une réaction excessive à son tour et il nie complétement toute souveraineté, comme d'ailleurs aussi la personnalité le caractére même de sujet d droit.

par les collectivités en lutte contre l'Etat souverain, avec les conséquences importantes qu'elle entraîne; obligation pour ce dernier de les traiter désormais comme tels et non plus comme révoltés; droits et devoirs de la neutralité pour les autres Etats.

Si le mouvement de résistance se développe et réussit, le deuxième stade est la reconnaissance de la nation, province ou colonie sécessionniste, quand l'Etat souverain dont elle dépendait a dû renoncer à la ramener sous son autorité. Ici encore il y a une question de mesure à respecter; une reconnaissance trop hâtive peut amener des protestations et même une déclaration de guerre (cas de la Grande Bretagne au moment de la reconnaissance des Etats-Unis par la France). Mais une fois le nouvel état de choses stabilisé, l'ex-Etat souverain ne peut voir un motif de rupture dans cette reconnaissance du caractère d'Etat par les autres Etats, même s'il se refuse à l'admettre en ce qui le concerne (cas de l'Espagne et de ses anciennes colonies d'Amérique, reconnues par tous les autres Etats, sauf elle).

Enfin, si les principes fondamentaux d'humanité sont violés dans cette lutte entre un Etat voulant maintenir sa domination par tous les moyens et unt collectivité désireuse de conquérir son autonomie, les autres Etats peuvent, nous l'avons déjà vu, intervenir pour les faire respecter. Mais l'intervention isolée, dangereuse à tous les points de vue, soit parce qu'elle, présente moins de chances de succès, soit par les tentations de conquête qu'elle peut faire naître là où elle a réussi, tend de plus en plus à faire place à une intervention collective et, depuis sa création, c'est la Société des Nations qui exerce, quand elle se sent la force de le faire utilement, ce droit de protection des minorités qui fait que le droit international apparait aujourd'hui comme achevant pour l'individu le cycle des garanties juridiques (*Races*, &c., p. 145 *et s.*, 154).

En ce qui concerne ce dernier stade, il ne s'agit guère encore que d'une ébauche du droit à venir; mais les grandes ligues en sont déjà esquissées et il eût été facile de les renforcer sans la douloureuse incompréhension et l'individualisme excessif de certains Etats. Une Société des Nations appuyée par une opinion publique énergique et bien informée pourrait rapidement transformer de simples promesses d'avenir en réalités. On arrive ici au point où, dans les institutions humaines, nationales ou internationales, le progrés ne dépend plus que de la volonté des hommes; sa réalisation suppose que les éléments d'ordre, qui sont les plus nombreux, sauront se montrer aussi hardis que les autres.

Un fait certain, c'est que l'existence d'une société internationale ne peut plus aujourd'hui être mise en cause. Or, dans toute société, il faut un gardien du droit, un juge impartial qui puisse résoudre les conflits qui se présentent. Le conflit, soit entre Etat souverain et province ou colonie sécessionniste, pour cause de tyrannie, soit entre le premier Etat et d'autres intervenant pour des raisons d'humanité, constitue malheureusement un des cas où la substitution du droit à la force, aujourd'hui réalisée en principe dans les relations entre individus, apparaît à la fois comme le plus désirable et le plus difficile à réaliser. Il faut arriver à une solution, car aussi longtemps qu'il n'y aura pas re juge, la guerre sera la seule solution possible, et

nous savons combien cette prétendue sanction du droit est insuffisante et dangereuse.

Ici encore le pacte de la Société des Nations peut être considéré dès maintenant comme donnant les premiers éléments de la solution. Les articles 11 et suivants visent expressément "toute guerre ou menace de guerre" quelle qu'en soit l'origine, et donnent à la Société, non seulement la droit, mais le devoir de prendre toutes les mesures propres à sauvegarder efficacement la paix des nations.[4] Dira-t-on qu'il y a là une menace bien dangereuse pour l'independance des Etats? Non, leur independance, comme leur souveraineté, est soumise aux lois générales de l'humanité. Lorsqu'un Etat ne peut maintenir son autorité sur une partie de son territoire que par l'emploi permanent de moyens violents, il y a là u état de choses anormal; des torts sérieux existent d'un côté ou de l'autre, sinon des deux côtés; et la simple possibilité de voir une autorité extérieure et d'une incontestable impartialité se saiser du conflit, pourra amener un gouvernement oppresseur à suivre à l'avance une meilleure ligne de conduite.

Là surtout où il n'existe pas de juge impartial, le droit de résistance, avec sa conséquence ultime pour une collectivité, le droit de sécession apparaîtra toujours comme un mal nécessaire, à la fois garantie indispensable et moyen désespéré. A l'intérieur de l'Etat, l'existence d'une bonne juridiction en fait disparaître le besoin d'une façon à peu près radicale; le recours au juge remplace le recours à la force, toujours beaucoup moins sûr; ce fut le principal effort du droit constitutionnel des pays civilisés que de donner satisfaction à ce besoin de justice et, dans les plus avancés à ce point de vue, ce recours judiciaire existe même contre le législateur lorsqu'il a violé la constitution. Maintenant que la nation a acquis un certain droit de cité en matière *internationale*, par un singulier retour à-l'origine étymologique de ce mot, le rôle du droit international sera de travailler à rendre inutile le droit de résistance comme il l'est déjà partiquement dans les rapports entre individus et Etat.

Dès maintenant, et avant toute intervention de la Société des Nations, le droit pubic offre déjà, avec la décentralisation et l'octroi d'une certaine autonomie, de multiples moyens de donner satisfaction aux tendances particularistes d'une collectivité nationale non étatique qui souffre d'une excessive centralisation, tout en maintenant une certaine suprématie de l'Etat souverain. Dans cette évolution vers l'autonomie, là où la décentralisation ordinaire ne suffit pas à contenter les aspirations particularistes ou à les rassurer contre une tentative de retour à l'absolutisme de l'Etat, le fédéralisme, avec la garantie qu'il constitue par la participation des membres à la formation de la volonté de l'Etat, apparaît comme une forme privilégiée et la plus complète de toutes. Il a déjà conquis environ une moitié du monde civilisé, dont presque toute l'Amérique et l'Océanie; d'autres Etats, on bien

---

4 Non obstat l'article 10 par lequel "les membres de la société s'engagent à respecter et à maintenir contre toute agression extérieure l'intégrité territoriale et l'indépendance politique présente" de chacun d'eux; le terme d' "agression extérieure" indique clairement qu'il ne vise que les guerres de conquête et non celles d'indépendance.

s'en rapprochent, comme l'immense Empire britannique, on bien ne semblent pouvoir trouver qu'en lui une forme d'institutions stables; tel semble bien être le cas, notamment de la Chine et peut-être aussi de certains Etats de l'Europe orientale (*Races*, &c., p. 133, *et s.*).

Ce n'est là qu'une indication d'un des moyens de solution des conflits entre Etats et nations que donne dès aujourd'hui le droit public. L'essentiel est qu'il n'est pas de conflit grave pour lequel on ne puisse entrouver un. Il y a contradiction à parler toujours de démocratie, à prétendre qu'elle est le fondement de l'Etat moderne, et à nier tout droit des individus et des groupes à l'égard de cet Etat qu'ils constituent. La société qui, dans certaines doctrines encore trop en faveur, n'est rien avant le contrat social, compte seul une fois ce prétendu contrat passé. Les deux affirmations sont également inexactes. S'il n'est pas vrai que la patrie soit uniquement le pays où l'on se trouve bien, il est certain que la plus grande force d'un Etat réside dans l'amour de ses nationaux., Pour tous, Etats ou individus, la loi naturelle précisée par le Décalogue doit être le grand guide; ses solutions, partiquées de bonne foi, éniteraient bien des douloureux conflits.

La justice, certes, est peu de chose sans la force; aussi faut-il tâcher que celle-ci vienne la sanctionner quand il en est besoin. C'est ce que, d'une façon générale, l'Etat a déjà réussi à réaliser dans les rapports entre particuliers. La question qui se pose aujourd'hui revient à savoir si cette évolution peut être achevée, si le droit peut être substitué à la force, non plus seulement dans les rapports entre individus, mais aussi dans ceux entre collectivités, souveraines comme l'Etat, ou prétendant à une certaine autonomie comme les nations, dont le droit international, dans l'intérêt même de la paix mondiale, tend à s'occuper de plus en plus. C'est la dernière étape à accomplir, ce sera la plus difficile et la plus longue à réaliser peut-être, mais l'homme peut cependant et doit y arriver. Sinon, ce serait renoncer à faire régir par le droit toute une série de rapports humains; il ne resterait plus qu'à affirmer avec Kant que l'état de guerre est "l'état de nature" entre Etats, et même aussi dans les rapports entre Etats et nations. Le dilemme inévitable qui s'affirme entre la force et le droit—droit de la force ou force du droit—est à la fois trop réel et trop douloureux pour que l'humanité ne fasse pas tous ses efforts pour arriver à le résoudre au faveur du droit, comme elle a déjà réussi à le faire à l'intérieur de l'Etat.

A pathetic interest attached to the meeting—a well-attended one—on Thursday morning; for those present listened to a paper by Bishop Fischer-Kolbrie of Kaschau Czecho-Slovakia, which that prelate had hoped to read personally at Oxford. Since the paper was written the Bishop had died, and it fell to the lot of his secretary, Mgr. Pfeiffer, to read it in his place. The subject dealt with was the conversion of Israel, and the chair at the meeting was appropriately taken by one who has long been zealous in that apostolate in England, Father A. Day, S.J. In a brisk opening speech he pleaded for wholesale contact between Catholics and Jews. In Judaism, he said, we were confronted by fifteen million people above the average in intelligence, initiative, and enterprise. Surely, then, this was a vital inter-

national question, which Catholics approached as Europeans, as citizens, and as members of universal and apostolic Church. Therefore they should get into contact with Jews with a view to exercising upon them their legitimate influence. The Jews themselves were complaining of the defection of great numbers of their own people, especially in America and in Central Europe. Incidentally, Father Day quoted a statement from a Jewish organ to the effect that it was converts from Judaism who had been largely instrumental in starting the Inquisition.

Bishop Fischer-Kolbrie's paper opened with the statement that relations between the Church and the Jews had at all times been manifold and complex. From the very first, Jews were to be found wherever Christianity was preached. The New Testament had abolished the juridical and ceremonial precepts of the Old, but not the moral ones. The Church desired the conversion of the Jews and prayed for them. She did not consider them, since they were "outside the Church," as subject to ecclesiastical legislation, save accidentally, by way of their relations with Christians.

The Jews were always included within the universal precept of Christian justice and charity, and every crime committed against a Jew was, from a moral point of view, considered no less grave than an equivalent crime committed against a Christian. Early ecclesiastical law appeared to bear somewhat hardly on the Jews. In estimating this criticism Catholics had to consider each enactment in the concrete. By permitting existing synagogues to subsist but forbidding the construction of new ones the Church intended to prevent the spread of Judaism; by forbidding Christians to enter service with a Jew she intended to prevent Jewish proselytism. Anti-Semite persecution, so frequent in the past, was manifestly contrary to Christian toleration. Yet the explanation of most of such persecution was not to be sought, as a rule, in religious bigotry, but rather in the special conditions of the Jewish folk. The Jews, who had lasted for twenty centuries without a fatherland, were strangers among strangers. They had been but little loved, in part without fault of theirs, but in part by their own fault. Their financial genius occasionally had made them envied, and a certain, almost normal, greed had roused much anger against them, not always without cause.

### Enforced Baptism Forbidden.

St. Gregory the Great, the paper continued, wrote to the Bishop of Naples, Paschasius, that Jews must not be prevented from celebrating their religious festivals. The fourth Council of Toledo protested against the enforced baptism of Jews; and Pope Clement III forbade forcible baptism and allowed baptism only when sincerely desired. Agobard, Archbishop of Lyons, protested against the law forbidding the baptism of Jews who sincerely desired baptism, without the consent of their masters, if they were slaves. He forbade Christians to join the Jews in their abstinence from work on the Sabbath instead of on Sundays, and to eat meat along with them in Lent. He forbade any action to the detriment of the life, health, or possessions of Jews. Peter the Venerable declared it just to take back

from the Jews such gains as they had fraudulently made; and to punish them (but Christians no less) should they take possession of sacred vessels.

Bishop Fischer-Kolbrie cited other instances, from the lives of St. Bernard, St. Thomas Aquinas, and others, in proof of the attitude of complete justice towards the Jews proclaimed by the Church in early and medieval times. She had, and has, he emphasized, but one doctrine as to the non-coercion of either Jew or pagan to receive baptism.

A Catholic State, the Bishop wrote, that is to say a State in which both the people and the civil power could freely apply Catholic principles in public life, would have to envisage the Jewish problem from three points of view—the religious, the economic, and the national. From the religious standpoint, Jews ought not to be forced to embrace the Christian faith, and ought to have liberty of worship. Clearly, if the Jews sought by means of schools or the press or otherwise to dechristianize Christians, they would have to be checked just as unbelievers or bad Catholics would were they to try to accomplish the perversions of faith or morals. As for the actual history of the action of civic authority with regard to the Jews, we might consider ancient Roman Law in the Christian era, notably the Codex Justinianus, which protected Jewish festivals, exempted their synagogues from the obligation of housing soldiers, permitted their appeals to the courts on their feast days, and protected them against calumny. On the other hand, it forbade their communities to exact legacies, and condemned them to death if they attacked a converted Jew. Far other was the attitude of the civil authority in the Middle Ages. Usually not princes or prelates but the people persecuted the Jews. Yet instances survive of the supreme civil power itself ordering their collective expulsion. Usually, this has been due to some reaction against the commercial or financial predominance of Jews. In modern times, since the Reformation, Protestant princes were often more adverse to them than Catholic ones.

From the economic point of view there should first of all be taken into account the dictate of natural justice; that the State must exist for the common weal; it must preserve public order, and work positively for public prosperity. Should the Christian majority be exploited by Jews to their hurt, clearly the State has the essential right to protect the Christians by special laws. But it would seem that a fully sound law, along with a good social, political, and economic organization of the Christian folk, and the education of the people along lines of sobriety and economy, should render any special legislation superfluous. Lastly, and from the national point of view, a nation could not view with equanimity its domination by a numerical minority pre-eminent in wealth or in skill, be that minority a Jewish one or not.

The final paper of the Public Conference was contributed by Mr. F. W. Sherwood, Recorder of Worcester, who dealt with the engrossing subject of the rights of Intervention. Mr. Sherwood, by incidentally commending the League of Nations to Catholic support, drew upon himself some American

criticism,[1] obviously based upon the idea that he was urging such support almost as a matter of moral obligation—an extreme view which he certainly did not advance. Both he and Professor Le Fur, in the matter of the right of Intervention, quoted the Syallabus, with its clearly laid-down statements. There was, said Mr. Sherwood, for the enlightenment of Catholics especially, the condemnation by Pius IX of the proposition that "The principle of non-intervention ought to be proclaimed and observed." The Pope condemned it in relation to the invasion of his States, when the invaders (while freely welcoming the help of volunteers from other lands) objected that intervention by powers from outside Italy would be wrong, although the Pope's territories had been confirmed in his possession by Treaty. The condemnation was delivered in the course of an Allocution, *Novos et ante*, spoken on September 28, 1860 (see *The Tablet*, October 13, 1860; vol. XXI, page 646), and it was later included in the famous *Syllabus* or catalogue of "the principal errors of our time indicated in the consistorial letters of Pope Pius IX," which was issued from the Vatican together with the not less famous Encyclical letter, *Quanta Cura*, of December 8, 1864. As English Catholics well know, the Encyclical and the Syllabus were to be later on, in 1874, the battle-ground of a controversy in which Mr. Gladstone and Cardinal Newman were the protagonists. (The full texts alike of the *Quanta Cura* and the Syllabus are set out, in English, in *The Tablet*, 1864, vol. XXV, pp. 841, 842.) After detailing briefly the story of that controversy, Mr. Sherwood pointed out that Pius IX clearly and authoritatively condemned the doctrine of non-intervention as an error belonging to Class VII of those condemned, namely, "Errors concerning Natural and Christian Morality."

The real centre of interest, notwithstanding the brilliant addresses and discussions was not at Wadham College Hall, but at the rooms of the Oxford Union, where for the entire week a debate was in progress demanding the exercise of infinite tact, forbearance, patience and charity. This meeting was spoken of by an enthusiastic delegate as a Pentecostal gathering. It was, of course polyglot, yet the greatest harmony and unanimity prevailed. English, German, and French were the languages used in the discussions. When others were used interpreters were ready to summarize in French, German, and English speeches delivered by the delegates. As a result of long and careful deliberations the Conference came to the conclusion that in order to attain unity of Catholic action in the cause of international peace a regular system of coöperation among Catholics throughout the world was essential, and to this end, some organisation, council, or other approved group was needed within each nation, representative in character, free from political entanglements, and recognized by episcopal authority. Next it was held desirable that such national groups, while retaining their autonomy, should together constitute a single

1 The "criticism" here alluded to was made by the Editor of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW who objected to the statement that "it is a *duty* for Catholics to support the League of Nations."

association or confederation. The main features of this had been outlined previously for the British delegation by Mr. John Eppstein, organizing secretary of the Conference. Unfortunately, Mr. Eppstein was taken seriously ill on the first day of the meetings in the Union, and was unable to take part in the deliberations. By a singular coincidence, the American delegation had outlined individually a somewhat similar programme with the added feature that Rome should be the centre of administration of the proposed organization. After three days' discussion of the draft by a "Constitution Commisson" it came before the general meeting for debate. On Friday morning the end came with dramatic suddenness when Rev. Dr. Browne one of the delegates from the United States, at the close of a brilliant address in which he made an appeal for unity of action moved that the draft as submitted be adopted *en bloc* without further discussion. Dr. Browne's motion was seconded by Mr. Kyan, of Cairo, the delegate of the Catholics of Egypt, who spoke on behalf of our brethren in the East, both Latins and Orientals. So East and West joined in this momentous step. The draft Constitution is open to the adherence of "National Catholic Groups" when formed or adapted to its purpose, and will be submitted to the Holy Father. The new organisation will be known as the *Confederation Catholica Internationalis* whose objects are:

I. To labour to preserve and to render more effective the unity of Catholic action throughout the world.

II. To promote International Peace based upon Justice and Christian Charity, according to the desire and direction of the Holy See.

(a) By forming in every country a Catholic Conscience well instructed in the Church's teaching concerning the moral principles of international conduct.

(b) By creating the good-will necessary for the application of such principles.

(c) By united study of all questions immediately concerning Catholic interests in the international sphere.

(d) By establishing closer contact and where desirable collaboration in all branches of Catholic effort (moral, social, educational, &c.), between the Catholics of different nations.

The three international "Convening societies," subject to ratification by their respective authorities, will all be combined in the single organisation thus constituted, under the name of *Confederatio Catholica Internationalis*. The existing International Office at Rome with which the Secretariat of the International Catholic League will be united, will become the headquarters of the new Confederation; the Catholic Union of International Studies will be the department of the whole, entrusted with the examination from the Catholic standpoint of all activities of the League of Nations and, when required, of unofficial international bodies of a neutral character, when moral principles and the Church's interests are involved. A Preparatory Committee consisting of the Rev. Dr. Monti, Director of the International Office at Rome, one representative of each of the other two

convening societies, and nine of different nationalities, was appointed to prepare the definite foundation of the Confederation.

Thus at Oxford the Conference laid the foundation of a world-wide work, with the best prospect of its giving a new impulse and a lasting efficiency to the crusade for peace and good will among the nations under the reign of the Divine law—"the Peace of Christ in the Kingdom of Christ."

Apart from the general meetings several sectional gatherings took place. There was a meeting for business men under the chairmanship of Mr. Edward Eyre, K.C.S.G. The meeting was convened by Herr J. N. Mollenhauer, of Fulda. Representatives of seven countries participated in the discussions; important proposals were made and action arrived at, with a view to closer international commercial relationship among Catholics.

There was a meeting for Catholic journalists and writers on the closing day of the Conference, with Mr. A. Hilliard Atteridge in the chair. The *Tablet*, the *Universe*, *Catholic Times*, and *Catholic Gazette*, represented the English press while Catholic journalists were present from countries so far apart as Chili and Yugo-Slavia. Miss Anna Christitch, Father Stephen Brown, representing *The Irish Rosary* and *Studies*, Dr. Sierp, editor of the *Stimmen der Zeit* (Munich), Mgr. Pfeiffer (Czecho-Slovakia), representatives of Swiss, German, and Austrian newspapers delivered brief addresses; Dr. Lapp discussed the activities of the National Catholic Welfare Conference of the United States; and the Editor of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW outlined a programme for closer union and increased activities among Catholic writers and editors.

The concluding session of the Conference took place in the afternoon of Saturday, August 15. Mr. G. Elliot Anstruther presided, and in a brief speech referred to the many pleasant and profitable experiences of the week, and the friendships engendered by personal association between Catholics of different nations. He offered the foreign delegates a few words of appreciation and good wishes, and paid a tribute in particular to the labours of Mgr. Canon Pfeiffer, who had been, he said, the dominant personality at the meetings. The Chairman's remarks were followed by short addresses from the Rev. Dr. Monti, of Rome, Mgr. Pfeiffer, and others of the delegates. All referred to their visit to Oxford in happy terms, and expressed the hope that the gathering would be made fruitful of result.

The London correspondent of the *Commonweal* writing of the Conference sums up its results when he says:

> In a sense, the Oxford conference has not been a Catholic conference at all. That is to say, any sincere Christian believer, whether an adherent of Catholic Church or not, could have subscribed whole-heartedly to the moral principles laid down at the various sessions. The Catholic representatives from twenty-eight countries were not induced or invited to band themselves together in an international political union. Politics, as regards the politics of parties, was ruthlessly shut out from the conference; at the same time those Christian and Catholic moral principles that are at the root of all national policies were exposed in the clearest light.

From twenty-eight different countries, Catholics have met and have exchanged thoughts and ideas. After Oxford, it will be difficult for them to work in ignorance of each other's aims—to carry on behind a wall of national insularity and isolation. And this is looked upon as one of the important results expected of the Oxford meeting.

In wider matters, there is the hope of greater unity in world problems. The Archbishop of Liverpool gave expression to this when, early in the conference, he spoke of the enormous influence that could be exerted throughout the world were the 40,000,000 English-speaking Catholics to pull together.

To put the work of the conference in a phrase, what it has been to give a powerful stimulus to the formation of a Catholic mind. Not altogether in the domain of faith and practice, which is for Catholics alone, but in the much wider sphere of national and political morality whose field of action, in the last resort, is the ballot box. Oxford has therefore given Christians a moral code.

And it is just here where the special value of the subsidiary conference of delegates for Catholic action shows itself. The larger conference was to make Christian principles concerning the mutual rights and duties of nations in their dealings with one another more widely known according to Catholic tradition in general, and especially to the pronouncements of the Supreme Pontiff and of his predecessors in modern times. That has been done with unmistakable clarity. The delegates' conference was to concern itself with the international coördination of Catholic action. Oxford has done its work, and it seems that the only thing left is for Catholics to act.

The editor of THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW begs to acknowledge his indebtedness to the editors of the *Tablet*, *Universe*, and *Catholic Times*, for many items contained in this report.

---

An event of deep historic interest took place at Orillia, Ontario, on July 1. There, a superb monument, second to none in Canada, was unveiled to the great explorer, Samuel de Champlain. The monument is to mark the advent of the white race into Ontario; and, as the inscription upon it states, it is intended to be "a symbol of good will between the French and English speaking people of Canada."

The memorial was unveiled by the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Speaker of the House of Commons, in the presence of a distinguished gathering of prominent men of the two provinces, and of an audience running into many thousands.

It would be difficult to bring together a more outstanding galaxy of orators than those who spoke at the banquet in the evening. The toast to Canada was proposed by Dr. Stephen Leacock, and responded to by Sir George Foster. The toast to Quebec was proposed by Sir William Mulock, Chief Justice of Ontario, and responded to by the Hon. E. Fabre-Surveyer, Montreal, representing the Government of Quebec. The Hon. Rodolphe

Lemieux proposed the toast to Ontario and the Hon. Geo. S. Henry, Acting Premier, responded.

In the afternoon an historical scene, in which over two hundred gaily costumed people took part was presented. It portrayed the coming of Champlain and his welcome by the Indians. The performance was under the competent direction of Mr. Roy Mitchell, formerly Director of Hart House Theatre, Toronto, and, with the scenic setting of Couchiching Beach Park, was an exceedingly striking spectacle.

It will be remembered that Champlain made his journey of discovery into Ontario in 1615. That expedition was the great explorer's deepest and boldest thrust into the heart of the North American continent, and the Indian village of Cahiague, capital of the Huron nation, may be said to have been the culminating point of his explorations. It was at Cahiague, near the site of which Orillia now stands, that Champlain made his winter headquarters. There, as the guest of the Huron Chief, Darontal, he spent a greater length of time than at any other point, while in what is now the Province of Ontario.

Of heroic proportions and conceived and executed with rare artistry, the monument which marks the coming of the first white man into the interior of the North American continent, will be excelled by few such memorials in either the United States or Canada. The main figure of Champlain, twelve feet in height and weighing three and a half tons, stands atop a forty-five ton boulder. At either side are large bronze groups, comprised of three figures each representing those two objects ever near the heart of Champlain—the bringing of Christianity to the Indians, and the opening up of commerce. Each side group weighs three tons; and the total weight of the bronzes is nearly ten tons, a greater amount of that material it is said, than is found on any other monument in the Dominion.

The rough hewn central boulder, on which the figure of Champlain stands, is of Benedict stone. It was the idea of the artist to design a pedestal in keeping with the life of a pioneer, and typical of the early period in which Champlain made his explorations. Because of the transportation difficulties, it was found impractical to carry out the conception in natural stone, and the boulder was cast on the spot by the Benedict Stone Company of Montreal, whose product is now used in many large buildings, including the new Mont Royal Hotel in Montreal. The plinth and steps also are of Benedict stone. A rich effect is given by the Tuckahoe marble, enhancing the appearance of the bronzes. The boulder itself is 45 tons in weight, and the stone work as a whole weighs over 100 tons. The base is thirty feet square, and the whole monument stands 30 feet high.

This striking memorial stands in Orillia's famous lakeside park on Lake Couchiching. There the figure of the great explorer looks toward the "Narrows," the only definitely located site mentioned in that extremely interesting document, "Champlain's Journal." It was at the "straight" connecting Lakes Simcoe and Couchiching that the Hurons stopped to fish before proceeding on the unsuccessful expedition against the Iroquois.

The monument is the creation of Vernon March the brilliant young

English artist whose work has been attracting widespread attention and who recently won high commendation for his war memorial for the Union of South Africa. Vernon March is the youngest of the famous family of seven brothers and one sister all of whom are artists. It is doubtful if a more extraordinary family could be found anywhere; all are devoted to art and all it may be said are unmarried. Among themselves on their own premises they do the entire work on a monument from the initial design to the ultimate bronze.

Contributions to this national and inter-provincial monument were made by the Dominion Government and the Governments of both Ontario and Quebec. Of the total cost of $35,000, the Dominion gave $12,500, the Provinces $5,000 each. In addition the Federal Government remitted $5,000 in duty and sales tax. The remainder came from the Town of Orillia, the County of Simcoe, from citizens and other sources.

The inscription on the memorial is as follows:—

1615—1915.

"Erected to commemorate the advent into Ontario of the white race, under the leadership of Samuel de Champlain, the intrepid French explorer and colonizer, who, with ten companions, arrived in these parts in the summer of 1615, and spent the following winter with the Indians, making his headquarters at Cahiague, the chief village of the Hurons, which was near this place. A symbol of good will between the French and English speaking people of Canada."

Discussing the event the *Register* for July says:

> Golden words of peace, good will and brotherly love—words that should be engraved indelibly on every heart in Canada— were spoken last Wednesday July 1, Dominion Day, by representatives of the French and English races at the unveiling of the beautiful monument to Champlain at Orillia.
>
> The ceremony itself was historic. It was a symbol of the recollection and lasting union of the two races that have made Canada. It was a tribute from English Ontario to French Quebec—a recognition by the former of what the Dominion owes to the virtues, enterprise, fortitude and piety of the latter. It was a supberb gesture of brotherly love and bonne entente from the seat of Canadian Protestantism to the citadel of Catholicism—a pledge of mutual understanding, toleration, sympathy and esteem.
>
> And the sentiments aroused, the emotions stirred, the noble feelings engendered by the ceremony were finely interpreted and eloquently voiced by the Honorable Rodolphe Lemieux, Speaker of the Dominion Parliament.
>
> "May the event of to-day be an inspiration to the rising generation," said Mr. Lemieux. "Let them treasure up in their hearts

and memories the sentiments which are here symbolized. And let us resolve that in this country, made immortal by the journey of Champlain, and also by the martyrdom of the Jesuit Fathers three hundred years ago, every man shall remain free to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience and to speak freely the language of his forefathers. In these days of threatened revolution let us strive to assert liberty without license, to maintain authority without despotism. Let us never despair of the future of Canada."

A noble message couched in noble words. Liberty without license, authority without despotism, law inspired and strengthened by love and ordered government based on a people's will—these are the foundations of national greatness. If we practice and maintain them we need never despair of the future of Canada.

---

A new enterprise, *Speculum: A Journal of Mediaeval Studies*, has been introduced by means of an attractive brochure setting forth the scope and aims of a unique publication. Says the announcement:

The scope of our new journal is the entire intellectual and artistic life of the Middle Ages. Various journals deal with portions of this field, but *there is no periodical publication in English in which the many strands making up the whole fabric are brought together.* Supported by a board of editors who are specialists in the fields of mediaeval history, art, literature, and philosophy, the journal will strive to publish in as attractive a form as possible scholarly articles, notes, and reviews of books dealing with the problems of mediaeval lore.

Latin, the international language of the Middle Ages, was at once a vehicle of rigorous thought and exalted idealism. Much, too, that is important and entertaining in the narrative literature of the national tongues is under obligation to earlier works in Latin. The mediaeval student sang his way through the world in the language of Rome. *Speculum will devote particular attention to the rôle of Latin in mediaeval literature: first because it is characteristic and inherently significant; secondly, because there is elsewhere no adequate provision for the study of Mediaeval Latin literature.*

The relation between art and letters is intimate. Mediaeval story, religious and secular, was depicted in glass and sculpture. The connections between manuscripts and art and literature are obvious; mediaeval palaeography and illumination are significant and fascinating.

The history of mediaeval social and religious life will receive the attention which it deserves from the students of art and literature; for social and religious institutions lie behind all manifestations of human culture and progress.

> The period of the Middle Ages is the great link in time joining Classical Antiquity with the present. For its origins it looks back to the Empires of Rome and Byzantium; reacting under the stimulus of the New Learning, it has begotten the civilization of the present day. To support the new journal is to support a movement of growing importance both in the academic world and in the general commonwealth of educated men and women.

The new journal has on its staff the best known mediaevalists in America; this is an augury of its success.

General Editor, Edward Kennard Rand, Harvard University.

Managing Editor, Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr., Harvard University.

Publishing Editor, John Nicholas Brown, Providence, Rhode Island.

Editorial Board, William Witherle Lawrence, Columbia University; Charles Rufus Morey, Princeton University; Louis John Paetow, University of California; James Hugh Ryan, Catholic University of America; Ernest Hatch Wilkins, University of Chicago; Karl Young, Yale University.

Advisory Board, Philip Schuyler Allen, University of Chicago; Harry Morgan Ayres, Columbia University; Charles Henry Beeson, University of Chicago; George Raleigh Coffman, Boston University; Cornelia Catlin Coulter, Vassar College; Ralph Adams Cram, Boston, Mass.; Gordon Hall Gerould, Princeton University; George Livingston Hamilton, Cornell University; Charles Homer Haskins, Harvard University; George La Piana, Harvard University; John Matthews Manly, University of Chicago; Dana Carlton Munro, Princeton University; Arthur Kingsley Porter, Harvard University; Fred Norris Robinson, Harvard University; John Strong Perry Tatlock, Stanford University; James Westfall Thompson, University of Chicago; Lynn Thorndike, Columbia University; James Field Willard, University of Colorado.

The CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW extends a cordial welcome to *Speculum* and wishes it a successful career.

---

The Rev. Pascal Robinson, O.F.M., formerly professor of mediaeval history at the Catholic University of America, has been appointed Apostolic Visitor to Palestine.

Father Robinson was stationed for a number of years at the Franciscan College and Commissariat of the Holy Land on Mt. St. Sepulchre, Washington.

Monsignor Angelo Mercati has been appointed Prefect of the Vatican Archives to succeed Monsignor Mariano Ugolini, the noted Oriental linguist, who has held that office for many years. Monsignor Ugolini, at his own request, has been retired and placed on a pension.

The new Prefect is a brother of Monsignor Giovanni Mercati, Prefect of the Vatican Library.

The *Boston Transcript* says:

> The Paris Library School, at the close of its first full year's term, has received official recognition from six sources, according to Sarah C. N. Bogle, director of the school and assistant secretary of the A. L. A. Official recognition has been accorded by the Association des Bibliothecaires Françaises, the Comié Français de la Bibliothèque Moderne and the American Library of Paris with which the school works in close collaboration.
>
> The Ecole des Chartes has stated its intention to coöperate by offering special courses to American library students registering in the Paris Library School. N. Roland Marcel as administrator general of the Bibliothèque Nationale, has requested that all French students at the school be assigned practice work in the Bibliothèque Nationale.
>
> Of wide significance is the sanction of Pope Pius XI. to the request of Cardinal Dubois, archbishop of Paris, to the Paris Library School that it admit as auditors to the summer course librarians of Catholic colleges and institutions.
>
> The approval of the Office Nationale des Universités is shown through the many courtesies extended to the school by its director, N. Petit Dutaillis, and the participation in all school activities by the associate director, M. Firmin Roz.
>
> The Paris Library School is conducted under the auspices of the American Library Association and maintained by a grant to the A. L. A. from the American Committee for Work in Devastated France.

The *Fortnightly Review* (St. Louis) says in its issue of July 15:

Friedrich Ritter von Lama, who is well known to the German Catholic public as a contributor to the *Allgemeine Rundschau* and other periodicals, has begun the publication, in serial parts, of a history of the Pope and the Roman Curia and Their Policy Since the World War ("Papst und Kurie in ihrer Politik seit dem Weltkriege, dargestellt unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Verhältnisses zwischen dem Vatikan und Deutschland;" Illertissen, Bavaria: Verlag der Martinusbuchhandlung).

In the first "Lieferung" the author tells the story of the steps taken in August, 1917, by England and France to end the war.

Shortly after Benedict XV had issued his famous appeal for peace, Aug. 1, 1917, the British government, through Count De Salis, its representative at the Vatican, informed Cardinal Gasparri that "there is no probability of getting nearer this goal [peace] as long as the Central Powers and their allies have not officially expressed themselves about ther war aims and on the question what reparations they are willing to make and what measures should be taken to preserve the world from the abominations from which it is now suffering. Even in regard to Belgium,—and on this point

the Central Powers have admitted their wrong, no definite declaration as to their intention of restoring that country complete independence has ever come to our knowledge.....Every attempt to bring the belligerents together appears useless so long as we are not clear regarding the points in which our opinions differ."

The French government sent a similar message, though it is manifest from Ribot's "Letters à un Ami" that France coöperated with England in this matter only because it saw that it could not win the war. Italy was not consulted by the other Allies because it was but too evident that the English and French peace negotiations with the Vatican violated the clause regarding the exclusion of the Pope which had been embodied in the Pact of London at the demand of the Italian government.

**On Aug. 24, 1917, Cardinal Gasparri** notified Msgr. Pacelli, papal nuncio in Munich and diplomatic agent of the Holy See for the whole of Germany, of the steps taken by England and France, called his particular attention to the passage regarding Belgium, and instructed him to "do his best" to obtain a declaration on this point from the Berlin government. The nuncio at once wrote to the Imperial Chancellor, Dr. Georg Michaelis, sending him a copy of the British peace proposal and saying that the Vatican would make no reply to England until it had heard from Germany. Instead of taking the matter up enthusiastically, the Chancellor merely notified the Emperor, his cabinet, and the German High Command, that he had received a message "from a neutral quarter" which seemed to indicate that England was asking for peace and gave the independence of Belgium as a preliminary condition. He did not mention that England through the papal Secretariate of State had asked for certain declarations apt to bring the belligerents into agreement.

At a crown council held Sept. 11, 1917, Dr. Michaelis received the Emperor's permission to declare "upon occasion" (gegebenenfalls) that Germany was ready to restore the independence of Belgium. Hence he was in a position to give the assurance which England demanded. But he did not do so. On Sept. 19 he informed the papal curia that the imperial government agreed with the wishes of His Holiness and that the Pope could depend on its "loyal support" (überzeugungstreue Unterstützung). The fact that he omitted all reference to Belgium, though he was authorized to give the desired assurance, and in spite of the peace resolution which had meanwhile passed the Reichstag, shows that the Chancellor was not ready to make peace. This appeared still more plainly from the formal reply he made to the papal nuncio on Sept. 24, to the effect that the imperial government was not in a position to give any assurance as to its intentions regarding Belgium because certain preliminary conditions had not yet been sufficiently cleared up.

This letter marked the failure of the papal peace overture. Why did Dr. Michaelis decline the papal intervention? The year 1917 was that of the Luther jubilee, and Germany was flooded with violent pamphlets and newspaper articles against Rome the Pope and the "Black International." Dr. Michaelis was active in this anti-Roman movement. Only a few weeks

before his elevation to the chancellorship he had contributed a chapter to a book entitled "Was uns Luther heute noch ist," which chapter soon after his appointment to that high office, was separately circulated as "Kanzlerworte über Luther." Having assumed this attitude, the Chancellor and his colleagues could not consistently accept a peace offered through the mediation of the Pope, whom, as good Lutherans, they regarded as the "Scarlet Woman" and the "Anti-Christ." Thus the last chance for a negotiated peace went aglimmering, the war continued, and the German people had to drain the bitter chalice to the dregs, thanks to the anti-Catholic bigotry of its prime minister.

These revelations have created a sensation in Germany and cannot but redound to the advantage of the Catholic Church.

---

A memorial tablet to the only English Pope, Adrian IV. (Nicholas Breakspear) was unveiled in the parish church at Abbot's Langley, Hertfordshire, on Saturday, June 13. The ceremony was arranged originally for last fall, but at the last moment it was decided to defer the event in order to permit the preparation of a more elaborate programme.

It is curious that the only memorial to England's only Pope will be in a church which is now Protestant, and that it will be unveiled at a Protestant service. When the unveiling was first arranged for last year it was hoped to get a well-known Catholic layman to officiate. But this arrangement did not materialize. The new programme does not mention any Catholic name among those taking part.

The idea of erecting a memorial to Pope Adrian IV. originated with the Hertfordshire Historical Association, the president of which society, Mr. F. S. Marvin, will give an address at the unveiling.

The Association states, in explaining its desire to commemorate Pope Adrian:

It seemed fitting that this should be done, as no memorial is in existence to the one Englishman—an able and remarkable man—who has ever attained that unique position.

There is an unbroken tradition—which may well be accepted—that he was born on a farm belonging to the Abbey of St. Albans, and the name is enshrined in the name of Breakspear Farm at Bedmond.

He is one of the best examples of a type, not uncommon in the Middle Ages, of a man of humble origin rising by force of character to what was, at any rate at that time, the highest spiritual office in Christendom.

At the unveiling a short service was conducted by the (Anglican) Archdeacon of St. Albans.

In the afternoon a procession went from Abbot's Langley to Bedmond, where a play pageant depicting the chief events in the life of Pope Adrian IV., was formed in the grounds of Breakspear Farm, the Pope's traditional birthplace.

In the first scene young Breakspear, a boy of eighteen, was seen seeking entrance to St. Albans Abbey. Being refused admission he goes abroad.

The next scene shows him, now Pope Adrian, receiving the Abbot of St. Albans, who is an Ambassador from King Henry II.

Other scenes show the attacks made on the Pope's temporal power and record the Interdict he placed on the rebellious Romans. The final scene shows the coronation of Barbarossa by the Pope after the German emperor had made his submission.

The church at Abbot's Langley was built about the time of the English Pope's pontificate, A. D., 1154-1159.

---

A document found recently among those restored by Austria to the Venetian state archives has revealed that the first plan for the unification of Italy was drawn up by Neapolitan patriots who revolted against Austrian domination in 1920 and that the plan provided for a federal government, comprising six states.

The plan was found by Dr. Annibale Alberti, head of the secretarial office of the Chamber of Deputies, in a letter sent to Count Carl d'Inzaghi, Austrian governor of Venice, by Count Apponyi, Austrian Ambassador to the Holy See in Rome on February 28, 1821. Dr. Alberti presented this letter and other interesting results of his researches to the recent Congress of Scientists at the University of Pavia.

Under the Neapolitan scheme, Italy was to have been divided into six governments—Papal State, the two Sicilies, Tuscany, Venice, Lombardy, and Piedmont—in a constitutional federated state to be known as the United States of Italy. Provision was made for a diet or general assembly of 300 members elected by representation proportional to population, to govern the federation, meeting for one month each year and changing its seat of meeting each year. Members of the assembly from the states were to have been elected by the national parliaments of those states and were to have been paid by them.

Control of making alliances and declaring peace or war; activities concerning the customs of Italy, such as education; decisions of controversies between the states was to have been vested in the assembly.

Elaborate provisions were made to guarantee "state rights" of the component states, each of which was to have been governed by the old Spanish constitution and by other political instruments, modified to meet special needs.

Except for the Papal State, each of the states was to have an hereditary monarchy with provisions for regencies in the event of the ascension to a throne of a minor. The two Sicilies were to be governed by Ferdinand I and his descendants, Tuscany by the Prince of Capua, Venice by the Count of Lecce or the Prince of Salerno, Lombardy by the Duke of Noto and Piedmont by the House of Savoy.

---

The Gold Medal for General Excellency for 1924 was conferred on the Architectural Department of the Catholic University of America by the American Group of the Graduate Architects of the famous Beaux Arts

School at Paris. This distinction was earned in competition with the Architectural Departments of the principal American Universities, and reflects the greatest credit on Mr. Frederick Vernon Murphy head of our Architectural Department, on its entire staff, and on the students.

---

The Catholic University of the Sacred Heart, founded at Milan four years ago by the Italian Catholics, has just received a princely gift. Duchess Sforza Fogliani Pallavicini has presented to the University her magnificant castle, near Piacenza, and the land surrounding it, for use as a woman's college.

The Duchess is an octogenarian. She recently informed the Pope that she wanted to make a gift in favor of some work which His Holiness considered to be especially opportune. Upon learning that the Holy Father desired to establish a woman's college in connection with the University of the Sacred Heart, the Duchess immediately gave her castle for the purpose.

---

Says the *New York Times:*

It will be a surprise to many to learn that the standard foreign language in education is not one of the living languages, but one that is commonly referred to as a "dead language"—Latin. The number of students of Latin in our schools now exceeds the total number enrolled in all the other foreign languages. And the number has of late had an "enormous" increase, especially in the Middle West, despite the fears of those championing the study of the classics lest the "practical" studies would, after the war, drive out the studies of general education. The American Classical League, considers with good reason, that it is doing a patriotic service in fighting against self-indulgent sentimentality on the one hand and selfish materialistic views of life on the other, in standing for such training as the classical disciplines give—the thing most needed for our American boys and girls. In this winning campaign the league has the support of such men as President Coolidge, Chief Justice Taft, Mr. John W. Davis Mr. Hughes, Secretary Hoover, President Rea and Dean Pound.

It is encouraging to note that there has also been a strengthening of the position of classical education in other countries, such as Great Britain, France and Italy, since the war. Every member of the new British Cabinet is a classically educated man and most of the members of the French Cabinet have had like training. In view of this growing vogue of Latin the Classical League might well take as its motto an adaptation of the line from some ancient writer which described certain people who laughed at Latin words as "dull fools."

An exhibition of 15,000 books, representing the best products of the German book press in science, literature, art and music during the past ten years, was held in Earl Hall, Columbia University, Oct. 5-17. This exhibit was assembled last Fall by the Börsenverein Deutscher Buchhändler (Association of German Publishers) and was shown in part in connection with the midwinter meeting of the American Library Association in Chicago.

The exhibition is designed to give an opportunity to the professional cultured public of New York and vicinity, so far as it is interested in science and the arts, to see, through the products of the German press, what Germany has accomplished in those fields recently. No books were sold and there was no advertising by any special publisher. Experts of the Börsenverein were however, on hand to furnish information regarding prices, if such information is desired.

Special evenings were arranged for librarians and representatives of the sciences and the graphic and technical arts, and brief addresses made on these occasions by specially qualified representatives of the Börsenverein committee. A New York advisory committee had been formed, with Roger Howson, assistant librarian at Columbia University, as Chairman.

---

The annual report of the Carnegie Institution for 1924 makes valuable reading. Mr. Leland and Mr. Doysie have nearly completed the first volume of their *Guide to Materials* for *American History in Paris Archives and Libraries;* Mrs. Surrey's *Calendar of Documents in Paris Archives* relating to *the History of the Mississippi Valley* is complete. Work is in progress for a second volume of Dr. Davenport's *European Treaties* and of Dr. Stock's *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments,* and for a third volume of Dr. Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress.* The gift of half a million dollars from the *New York Times* has placed the projected American *Dictionary of National Biography* on a sound financial basis. The problem confronting Dr. Jameson in this connection is beset with many difficulties.

---

The *Bulletin of the Institute of Research* (London) begins its third volume with a considerable extension in its size. It makes an announcement that "the additional space thus rendered available may be used both for new developments and for expanding and improving earlier experiments which have sometimes been criticized for their brevity."

---

Noting the value to students of the British School of Archeology in Egypt the *Bulletin* says:

The British School of Archæology in Egypt has rendered a great service not only to Biblical scholars but also to students of MSS. by the issue for 1923 of *The Gospel of St. John according to the earliest Coptic Manuscript* (B.S.A.E. and Quaritch, 1924), edited, with a translation, by Sir Herbert Thompson. It is a very beautiful book in which every help that could be desired has been provided, including a glossary; and the palæographer who compares the photographic reproductions of the forty-three papyrus leaves with others with which he is familiar will have real cause to congratulate himself that so much of this fourth-century MS. has survived.

> 'When the strips of crumbling linen rag were removed,' says Sir Flinders Petrie in his account of the discovery, it was seen

> that 'the leaves had skewed in folding.' The book 'could not be opened in the least without cracking. Damping to render it flexible was a risk..... Damp cotton-wool was therefore used from which all spare moisture had been squeezed; this was tousled as loose as possible, packed on the edges of the leaves, and the whole wrapped in a cloth. After a few days, the papyrus had absorbed enough moisture to enable it to be slightly unbent. Similar damp wool was then placed in the middle, where the folds were sharpest. After several days more, the whole mass could be flattened out without producing any fresh breaks. On separating the MS. into sheaves, where the leaves would part, the portions were interleaved in an old volume of soft paper, to dry flat. It was then seen that the subject was the Coptic version of the Gospel according to St. John.'

We have taken these details as likely to interest some readers of the *Bulletin* for professional reasons. But even those who have no technical skill in such matters will admire from another point of view the careful introduction in which Sir Herbert Thompson describes and discusses this, "the only early Gospel manuscript of which we are sure of the provenance."

---

At the meeting of the Hierarchy of the United States recently held at the Catholic University of America the American Board of Catholic Missions was established which provides a unified national control of funds contributed by parish and diocesan organizations toward the home missions. These funds will be sent by the various ordinaries to the office of the board, which will be established in the offices now occupied by the Catholic Church Extension Society of Chicago. The machinery of the Extension Society will be utilized in the formation of various parochial and diocesan branches subsidary to the board. Funds contributed in America for the foreign missions will be sent, as has been the custom in the past, through the office of the national society. These provisions were embodied in the report submitted by the newly constituted mission board immediately after its organization meeting, which took place concurrently with the general meetings of the hierarchy here.

Members of the new board are: His Eminence George Cardinal Mundelein, Archbishop of Chicago, and the Right Rev. Francis Kelley, Bishop of Oklahoma, elected for terms of three years each; the Right Rev. J. F. Noll, Bishop of Fort Wayne, and the Right Rev. Hugh C. Boyle, Bishop of Pittsburgh, elected for two years; and the Most Rev. Michael J. Curley, Archbishop of Baltimore, and the Most Rev. Albert T. Daeger, Archbishop of Santa Fe, elected for one year each. Cardinal Mundelein was chosen president of the board; Bishop Kelley, treasurer; and Bishop Noll, secretary.

---

The Eleventh Conference of Catholic Charities to which the Catholic

University of America was host during the second week of September is regarded as the most successful in its history. It concluded its five day session with a public mass meeting at which His Eminence Cardinal Hayes, of New York, was the principal speaker.

The Conference demonstrated that Catholic charities have been brought to a position of importance and a degree of efficiency that make them second to none, as far as organization is concerned, in the United States. New fields, it was revealed, have been opened up within the last few years, as a result of the changing social and commercial life of the country, and these have been surveyed with a view to giving the highest type of service to distressed humanity.

The progress that Catholic charities have made in the time that has intervened since the first Catholic Charities Conference was held was strikingly emphasized by the Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, Rector of the Catholic University, at the first public meeting.

Fifteen years of coördinate work on the part of the Conference, according to Bishop Shahan, have resulted "in making the upcoming Catholic generation feel itself an integrant part in the nation-wide movement towards social betterment, sane and possible reform, good legislation, above all toward the actual facts in all departments of that great new science which, like medicine and law, demands first of all a complete statement of facts, without prejudice or preconceived ideas."

The most important developments of these fifteen years, Bishop Shahan pointed out, were:

The appointment of Diocesan Directors of Charity.

The Social Conferences of our Sisterhoods.

The development of standards of the care of children.

The development of schools of social service.

The introduction of field courses in a very large number of Catholic colleges for both men and women.

The development of various social activities under the National Catholic Welfare Conference.

The second general meeting was addressed by the Most Rev. Peter Fumasoni-Biondi, Apostolic delegate to the United States; the Rev. Dr. John A. Ryan, of the Catholic University; the Rev. Dr. John M. Cooper, of the Catholic University; and the Hon. T. V. O'Connor, of the United States Shipping Board. Mrs. Matthias Benner, president of the League of Catholic Women of Chicago, presided.

Archbishop Fumasoni-Biondi spoke of the deep interest His Holiness, Pope Pius XI, manifested in Catholic charitable undertakings the world over and expressed his personal satisfaction at the progress made by the Catholics of the United States in this field.

---

The Vatican recently purchased the Villa of Santa Maria della Pietà on the Janiculum hill as the site for the new headquarters of the Sacred

Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith around which are to be grouped the national colleges in Rome, the students of which at the present time attend the lectures given at the College of Propaganda.

The new North American College which is to cost approximately $1,000,000 is one of the institutions to be erected on the acquired site. Monsignor Eugene Burke, rector of the college, attended the meeting of the American Catholic Hierarchy held in Washington and completed arrangements for the new building. The late Monsignor O'Hern, former rector of the college, was in the United States on that mission at the time of his death.

---

What we term "Labor Day" in this country our French Canadian brethren designate "La Fête du Travail" and it is celebrated very solemnly. *La Presse* (Montreal) reporting the event, says:

> Les ceremonies de la célebration religieuse de la fête du travail, se sont deroulées dimanche après-midi, avec tout l'éclat accoutumé et favorisées cimme les années passées par une temperature idéale. Plusieurs milliers de personnes étaient accourues à l'oratoire Saint-Joseph, pour prier le modèle et le patron des travailleurs... Deux sermons furent prononcés, le premier en français, par le R. P. Lévi Coté, et le second en anglais par M. l'abbé Donald A. McLean, professeur de philosophie morale, sociale et légale à l'université catholique d'Amérique, Washington, D. C.

*La Presse* carries a verbatim report of the sermon, in French. The English dailies, the *Star* and the *Gazette* devote considerable space to it. Says the *Gazette:*

Father McLean pointed out that it was impossible for an industrial system to be successful if it had as its chief end, the accumulation of wealth without due regard to the human personality of the worker. Always the Catholic Church had been the defender of the poor. History and the statements of recent Popes such as the *Rerum Novarum Encyclical of Leo XIII.*, and other encyclicals of Pius X. and Benedict XV. plead for the amelioration of the condition of the working classes.

Unrest is largely due, he said, to our industrial processes having been divorced from the divine purpose in life of administering always justice and charity. As long as employers regard accumulations of wealth as a purely personal possession, strife is always bound to come no matter what economic transactions may be effected. Human rights and the rights of God should be taken into consideration in every business for this meant the right of justice and charity. Fundamentals on which all business must be transacted.

The establishment of an eight hour day, proper shop conditions, sanitation, moral safeguards and above all, the paying of a just wage, will go a long way towards the establishment of harmonious human relations in in-

dustry. Labor participation in the management of an industry would be a great step towards peace in industry. In that way, the workers would show interest in the organization and such a business would be considered profitable from the mere financial point of view for the worker would demonstrate his interest by greater zeal and suggestions for improvement. Where he is just part of a large staff of workers, he has no incentive to improve, but if he were able to consider himself as one of the members of the organization which controls, he would naturally show a much greater interest and zeal for the welfare of the industry.

---

Dr. George Hermann Derry, read of the Department of Economics at Union College, Schenectady, N. Y., and nationally known orator, political scientist and sociologist has accepted the position of head of the department of sociology at Marquette University.

Dr. Derry is a native of Portland Me. and received his early education at Portland high school and Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass. He is a graduate of the schools of philosophy and social science of St. Mary's Hall, Stonyhurst College, England; a post-graduate student of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, and a doctor of philosophy of Holy Cross. He also holds the degree S.T.B. from the Catholic Institute of Paris.

Dr. Derry has been assistant professor of political science at the University of Kansas and acting head of the department of economics at Bryn Mawr College, a chair once held by Woodrow Wilson, besides being head of the department of economics at Union College.

---

Disquieting news comes from Czechoslovakia. Since the evolution of Bohemia into a Republic, the Czech government have been hostile to the Church and ride roughshod over the Catholic population of the country constituting nearly eighty-five per cent of the population. For centuries disturbing elements have existed there; and the Hussite schism has brought forth fruits of an unsavory nature. For many decades the *Los von Rom* movement has been active, and during the years preceding the fall of the Hapsburgs there were many defections from the Church.

Some weeks ago the Papal Nuncio left Prague as a protest against the "secular canonization" of John Huss, and from present indications a rupture with the Holy See is imminent.

The latest move of the Czech government is a programme of spoliation, the latest performance being the confiscation of the Premonstratensian Priory of Tepl and its agricultural possessions, despite the fact that the legal title of the property is perfectly clear. This title is based upon a deed of donation dating from 1197.

It is not generally known that the government of Czechoslovakia is in the hands of an oligarchy. Commenting on this anomalous situation the London *Observer* says:

The present electoral system compels the voter to record his vote for a party, and not for an individual. Each party produces a list of candidates,

which is sent throughout the country. But the new reforms, which are too complicated to be dealt with in detail here, will make it possible for a man to vote for his party, which may be a small one, with the unpleasant feeling that his vote may easily be given to one of the larger parties with whom he is not in sympathy. Instead of all shades of opinion being represented, the stronger parties are to be stronger than ever; the smaller ones will merely be eliminated. The fact that under the new reforms the votes of all the smaller parties will be handed over to the larger parties makes the system not only undemocratic, but also impersonal.

This impersonality in Czech politics has been brought about mainly through the agency of what is known as the Petka (pronounced "Pyetkah"). This Petka, which came into being in 1919, when it was found that none of the large parties was strong enough to carry on the governing of the country, is a committee of five men, one from each of the large parties, formed to act as advisory body to the Government. What happened was that the members of the Petka began to assume unofficial power. Being men of intelligence and tact, they were able to work together, at the same time imposing their own wills on their own separate parties. This Council of Five now has all the power of a Cabinet without its responsibility. Its meetings are secret, and the proceedings are not reported. The Petka is the real governing body in this country. It is thus able to pass such laws as the electoral reforms, which keep it in power and make it stronger than ever.

---

The Sixth Annual Meeting of the Catholic Historical Association will be held at Ann Arbor, Michigan, December 27-30. The programme indicates that it is likely to prove the most valuable and most interesting in the history of the Association. It will mark a new period in the progress of this youthful organization whose worth has been recognized not only in the United States but in foreign countries where Catholic scholarship is held in high esteem. This fact was revealed to the writer during a recent visit to Europe where he had the privilege and pleasure of meeting at close quarters some of its greatest Catholic scholars.

---

The *American Historical Review* announces that the American Council of Learned Societies has secured the services, as general editor of the Proposed *Dictionary of American Biography*, of Dr. Allen Johnson, professor of American history in Yale University, and formerly editor of the series called *Chronicles of America*.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**The Naval History of the Great War. The Stress of Sea Power, 1915-1916.** By Thomas G. Frothingham. Harvard University Press. Cambridge, 1925. Pp. xi, 342. $3.75.

Continuing his account of the naval history of the Great War from the point at which he stopped in his first volume (see the review of this book in *Catholic Historical Review*, January, 1925), February, 1915, Captain Frothingham brings the narrative to January, 1917, the eve of the entry of the United States into the conflict. In the preceding volume he had emphasized the facts: Germany was virtually in a state of siege because the allies controlled the high seas; the allies were separated from their eastern associate, Russia, because Germany controlled the Baltic Sea and the Dardanelles. This control of the Baltic enabled Germany to develop the submarine with which she tried to reach the world. Twice did Germany attempt to break the economic grip of the allies by this means. In February, 1915, the military situation in a measure warranted the delimitation of war zones into which ships ventured at their peril. This course Germany abandoned when the United States, indignant about the *Lusitania* and *Arabic* incidents, protested. For Germany unrestricted submarine warfare was, however, as unwise in 1915 as the invasion of Belgium had been in 1914. She was not prepared to carry out summarily what she had planned to accomplish—her submarines were not numerous and not sufficiently well developed. Her conduct distracted the attention of neutrals from their quarrels with England over the questions of contraband and of the use of neutral flags to protect belligerent shipping. Two years later, after the Battle of Jutland, Germany again resorted to submarine warfare, first according to prize-law, then, in January, 1917, in an unrestricted manner. Captain Frothingham can discover not the slightest warrant for the adoption of this course. The submarine campaign that was conducted according to the rules of prize-law wrought such havoc that the allied councils were in consternation. The military situation on the continent was unfavorable to the Germans.

On the western front the concentration of the allied efforts had not appreciably affected the German lines. On the eastern front Russia, staggering from the blows she had received, was about to be led out of the melee by the revolutionists. The Balkan States, save for Greece and the army under General Sarrail at Salonica, were subject to her. The Central Powers were consolidated from the Baltic to the Black Sea and beyond. On the Italian front the enemy still had to fight its way through the Alpine passes. Germany, moreover, had outwitted Britannia on her own element at Jutland. Captain Frothingham devotes eight chapters to this monumental failure of the British to destroy the German High Seas fleet. Two years after the battle the British admiral, Jellicoe, positively stated that it was impossible to effect without confusion a simultaneous turn of all the ships of a fleet, a movement which the German admiral, Scheer, had successfully carried out three times in Jellicoe's presence the very afternoon of the battle. In January, 1917, Germany had many submarines, so many, indeed, that she was obliged to draw on the personnel of her fleet in order to man them, and she had developed the submarines to such a degree of efficiency that the activities of the fleet were subordinated to them. Germany, however, blundered. She under-rated the consequences of American wrath much as she had under-estimated the strength of moral forces in 1914. Captain Frothingham goes so far as to say that "this misconception which came from always thinking in German terms, meant the difference between German victory and German defeat" (p. 284). Germany, too, did not realize that much of her success in the use of submarines was due to the fact that "the allies had not been using all available means of defense" against them. Effective defenses had been devised and were only awaiting adoption by the British Admirality. "This was to be another illustration of the old axiom that there will be found counters to all tactics and all weapons, and the effect of these counters must be considered in the result." Wisely, we think, does Captain Frothingham observe that "this truth stands out to-day as a warning to those in services who may become prejudiced by the strength of their enthusiasm for some one means of waging war" (p. 307). Germany, therefore, threw away the fruits of Jutland and in the end failed though her

enemies, for reasons that were stated in the first volume, did not wrest from her the Baltic Sea and the Dardanelles. A third volume in which, no doubt, the emphasis will be on the role of the United States, is promised us.

Captain Frothingham has in this second volume of his work continued to give us indefinite references to the printed sources of his information. Baltimore, not Norfolk, was the terminal point of the voyage of the "Deutschland" (p. 34). On page 52 is repeated word for word matter which occurs on pages 48 and 49. The date, 1905, on page 75, line 5, obviously should be 1915.

---

**The Roman Colonate: the Theories of Its Origin.** By Roth Clausing, Ph.D. With an Introduction by Vladimir G. Simkhovitch. Columbia University Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. CXVII, No. 1. Columbia University. New York, 1925. Pp. 333.

How the free tenants and small proprietors of ancient Rome came to be attached to the soil has puzzled many generations of scholars. Many theories have been advanced in explanation of the colonate since Cujacus in 1577 connected it with an earlier, Republican institution. Some, like Cujacus, have looked for the origins of Roman serfdom in the Orient, or have connected it with the barbarian *dedititii*. Others have concluded that the colonate rose in response to certain, particularly fiscal, needs. Professor Clausing carefully states the theses of a score and more scholars and weighs the evidence for and against them. Finally, he advances the theory which he shares with Professor Simkhovitch that "the adscription of the tenantry to the soil can only be properly understood when it is considered in close connection with the causes which led to the decline of the Roman Empire. Previous types of servile tenure may have had some influence in moulding the exact form which the colonate assumed. The exigencies of taxation may have been the actual occasion which led a worried emperor to take the drastic step of binding the coloni to the soil. But had the Empire been in a vigorous condition no such measure would ever have been considered. No nation has ever had greater respect for law and custom than the Romans, and the arbitrary creation of a serf class would have been unthinkable except to meet a supreme emergency" (pp.

12-13). This supreme emergency was due to the exhaustion of the soil first in Italy and later in the provinces, and the coloni were bound to it in order "to enforce the cultivation of the fields, which did not yield a large enough product to induce cultivation for the sake of individual profit and which would otherwise have been deserted—a disaster of such serious consequences that it threatened the continued existence of the Roman Empire" (p. 13).

Professor Clausing's dissertation is admirably done. His explanation of the origin of the colonate is not altogether new and some questions remain in the reviewer's mind about the direct value of some of the evidence which he adduces. Discussing the reasons for the exhaustion of the soil of Italy is a task which Professor Clausing may rightfully claim was not his. Since, however, he emphasizes so largely only the ill effects of slave labor we venture to suggest the importance of the Italian soil content and of the topography of the country as factors in its exhaustion. The Romans could not be expected to be wiser than the wisest of the ancients who did not, so far as we have been able to learn, resort to terracing except to enhance the beauties of the landscape. Nevertheless the book is an excellent review of the literature on the colonate and a storehouse of information about Roman economic conditions both in the Republican and the imperial periods. Misprints occur on pages 97, 206, 216, 255, 264.

---

**The Agrarian Movement in North Dakota.** By Paul R. Fossum, Ph.D. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series XLIII, No. 1. Johns Hopkins Press. Baltimore, 1925. Pp. 183.

Surprises await us in out of the way places these days. When the farmers of North Dakota resolved to end the oppression of the grain dealers of the mid-west, that is their East, they entered a conflict that has been fought many times in the history of the world. Agrarian and commercial peoples can understand each other only when the former reaches the level of economic understanding of the latter. The agrarian folk cannot be expected to realize the intricacy of a specialized economic organi-

zation. The North Dakota farmer did not understand the process by which the wheat which he garnered reached the ultimate consumer in the Eastern States or in Europe. The speculators of the Chicago wheat pits were to him not so many buffers against prices that might ruin him, but so many unscrupulous dealers in wheat that had not yet been sown. For him as for the colonial tobacco planter the mysteries in trade were as great as those in religion. The merchant became rich on his toil while he became poor. Dr. Fossum does not notice the general significance of the efforts of the North Dakota farmer to free himself from the meshes of the marketing system. Like a good shoemaker he sticks to his last. He surveys the conditions in the wheat country that roused the farmers to indignation. He examines the farmers' efforts to free themselves by one means or another, and he reveals the reasons for the failure of these efforts. He traces the history of the Non-Partisan League which promised so much and accomplished so little, except, perhaps, in pointing the way by which the farmer could truly help himself. The builder of a comprehensive narrative of the economic evolution of our country may not reject the stone that Dr. Fossum has cut.

---

**British History in the Nineteenth Century (1782-1901).** By George Macaulay Trevelyan. Longmans, Green and Co. New York, 1922. Pp. xvi + 445.

"The object of this book," says Mr. Trevelyan in the preface, "is to enable the student or general reader to obtain, in the compass of one volume, a picture of change and development during the hundred and twenty years when things certainly, and probably men and women with them, were undergoing a more rapid change of character than in any previous epoch in our (English) annals." He has "tried to give the sense of continuous growth, to show how economic led to social, and social to political change, how the political events reacted on the economic and the social, and how new thoughts and new ideals accompanied or directed the whole complicated process." The book is neither a history of the Empire nor of the island, Britain; "it treats of that island as the centre of a great association of peoples."

From Mr. Trevelyan we may expect, without fear of disappointment, brilliant history. His narrative is never dull and his observations are often vivid. One will have to go far to find as clear an account of the course of French Revolutionary history as occurs on pages 82-84. Tom Paine, the English Quaker of American "Common Sense" fame, "may have been a good 'citizen of the world,' but he was never a good Englishman" (page 64). Again: "The philosophy of Dr. Johnson's England was static, not evolutionary: the world was not expected to change. Civilization, it was thought, had 'arrived,' after a number of barbarous ages, and was going to stay comfortably where it was. When in France it suddenly began to slide, and then explode in smoke and flame that hid it from view, people on our side the Channel thought that the end of the world had come" (p. 72). Commenting on the influence of the Greek revolution on the English mind, he notes that "It is significant of much that in the seventeenth century members of Parliament quoted from the Bible; in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from the classics; in the twentieth century from nothing at all" (p. 214). The disposition of the bourgeois monarchy of Louis Philippe to "protect Belgian independence" against the Metternichian powers leads him to wonder how much of Belgian independence would have been left when France had ceased fighting for it" (p. 294). To Napoleon III, carrying water on both shoulders in respect to Italy, Mr. Trevelyan might have offered sound advice. "Those who feel equally bound to fight on both sides of a quarrel would find it safer, from a selfish point of view, to stay at home" (p. 300). Equally pointed is his observation about Lord John Russell's management of England's Italian relations in 1860. "There went so many miracles to make Italy—the miraclemen, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour, the right king on the right throne, the thousand wonderful chances of battle and debate—that we sometimes overlook a miracle in that age second to none, that in 1860 a British Foreign Minister thoroughly understood, by years of previous study and from the best sources of daily information, the main question with which he was called upon to deal" (p. 328). Now and then Mr. Trevelyan takes the shafts he shoots from other quivers. When O'Connell failed to get preferment after the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act, he said of

Peel "words that no one but an Irishman would have found, 'His smile was like the silver plate on a coffin' " (p. 221).

Surveying the book as a whole we think that Mr. Trevelyan has not throughout kept to his resolve of noting always the relation of economic to social, and social to political change. One has difficulty, too, in following topics from chapter to chapter because he has chosen the chronological method of writing history. That Mr. Trevelyan is an Englishman may not be his fault, but it is certainly his misfortune, for in this book he has not succeeded in shaking off characteristic English prejudices. These prejudices appear in every chapter. He does not, for example, notice the Opium War. British motives are seldom above question. Financial considerations do not mar his citation of the reasons for the support England gave the Greeks in their war for independence. The significance of British courses is sometimes over-emphasized. We think that Mr. Trevelyan attaches too much importance to the younger Pitt's settlement of the Nootka Sound controversy with Spain when he says that but for Pitt's stand the American and Canadian future on the Pacific Coast would have been imperilled (p. 43). Since St. Francis of Assisi graces the annals of mediaeval benevolence, we may regard the statement that with the efforts of the poets, philosophers, and religious enthusiasts, particularly those of John Wesley and of the Quakers, in the middle period of the eighteenth century "religion and humanitarianism began to renew a connection that had not been obvious during the Middle Ages or the Wars of Religion" (p. 50). In the South American war for independence only Cochrane is mentioned as deciding the contest in the sub-tropical regions (p. 211). He curiously confuses our western "war hawks" of 1812 with the southern democrats (p. 177), and the south generally seems to comprise only the Carolinas and Georgia (pp. 255, 333). The Irish on the whole get very fair treatment; they were thrust forth (did not emigrate) from their island (p. 290).

The book is closely but well printed; only one error was noticed in the four hundred and odd pages. There is a well selected bibliography at the end of the volume.

**Holy Family Parish Chicago, Priests and People.** By Brother Thomas M. Mulkerins, S.J. Universal Press, Chicago. Pp. xxii + 980.

This volume, as indicated by its title and size, contains an excellent and detailed history of a large and important parish in the Archdiocese of Chicago.

Holy Family Parish looks back to the romantic days of Marquette and the Jesuit explorations about the neighborhood of the Great Lakes, although 182 years were to intervene before the establishment of a permanent parish in what is now the teeming city of Chicago. Marquette, the Apostle of Illinois, dwelt for a time, in 1674, upon the site of the parish.

In 1857, clearings had begun and the parish, of which the Jesuit explorers may have dreamed during their sojourn, became a permanent reality. The pages of this book reveal the blessings Marquette's visit brought to the spot thus hallowed.

Every page of the volume is filled with interesting details—descriptions of services and celebrations, biographies of those who have labored in the parish, both clergy and laymen.

To these records of the past is added detailed information regarding the activities of the present. Nothing which could be added to a parish history, to make it of interest, both locally and nationally, has been omitted, and the painstaking work of both author and editor is to be commended.

The book is, in addition, beautifully printed and illustrated and forms a valuable contribution to the history of the Church in America.

---

**Our Pastors in Calvary: Biographical Sketches of Parish Priests of St. Louis 1854-1924.** By Mary Constance Smith, St. Louis: Press of Blackwell Wielandy Book and Stationery Co. Pp. 174.

This volume contains short biographies of such priests as have labored in the city of St. Louis and lie buried in Calvary Cemetery. As such, it is not a comprehensive history of the Church in St. Louis in even brief form, but is a valuable contribution, covering 150 years and containing the names of and some information regarding about 160 priests, beginning with the

Very Rev. Francis Cellini who was born in 1781, and ending with a brief notice of a priest who was buried in the Cemetery in 1924. A number of portraits add interest to the book, but the meagre details in regard to some, obtained after careful research work on the part of this author, emphasize the need at the present time of preserving the historical records of our days for the Catholics of the future.

---

**The Golden Jubilee of Saint Agnes Parish, New York City, 1874-1923.** By Rev. Wm. E. Degnan. Pp. 171.

This volume contains a brief history of St. Agnes' Parish during its fifty years of existence, biographical notes of its pastors, a sermon on charity and an article on Christian Education, followed by the programme of the Jubilee celebration and a list of the contributors. Good illustrations showing parts of the Church and portraits of the pastors add to the value of the volume as an historical record.

---

**The Journal of Louis Hémon.** Translated by William Aspenwall Bradley. New York: Macmillan Co., 1924. Pp. vi + 67. Illustrated.

Mr. Bradley has given us a delightful translation of the account which Louis Hémon, the author of *Maria Chapdelaine*, wrote about his journey from Liverpool to Quebec. Little of the charm that was Hémon's has been lost, and all his insight into things as they are has been preserved. "It is, doubtless, in drawing towards Quebec or Montreal that one recovers most easily and most exactly the state of mind of the *déracinés* who saw New York Bay open before them a hundred years ago. Those who, approaching that city to-day, watch the Statue of Liberty and the mass of the "sky-scrapers" loom up, can have very different impressions only, because the first aspect offered them by America is that of one city among others, and no longer the primitive, striking aspect of the empty country they are going to reclaim and to fill." The twentieth century may be "Canada's century," as the nineteenth was that of the United States, but for the French country around Quebec to lose its present character in the realization of the Canadian's boast would be

a pity. Hémon spares us the pain that would be ours were he to contrast more distinctly the dominant civilization with that of the "lost Province." "Hardly have" its peasants "modified, in defense against the homicidal cold, the traditional costume of the country whence they came. All the rest—language, beliefs, customs—they have kept intact, without arrogance, almost without reflection, on this new continent, amid alien populations; as if in an innate naive sentiment, which some will deem incomprehensible, had taught them that, to alter in the least detail what they had brought with them from France, and to borrow anything whatsoever from another race, would have been to decline a little." We board the train for Montreal, but do not get to our destination. To have reached it would have been a sin.

---

**The Inside Passage to Alaska, 1792-1920, with an account of the North Pacific Coast from Cape Mendocino to Cook Inlet, from the Accounts Left by Vancouver and Other Early Explorers, and from the Author's Journals of Exploration and Travel in that Region.** By William Watson Woollen, edited from his original manuscripts by Paul L. Haworth. 2 Vols. Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1924. Illustrated. Pp. 342, 318.

The author, for sixty years a lawyer in his native city, Indianapolis, was a nature-lover of some repute in his state. His interest in the out-doors was not of the closet-type. He established a refuge for birds and other wild creatures on a tract of land outside of his city, he promoted the study of nature in the schools, and travelled extensively. In 1912 he made a trip to the Pacific Northwest and was so impressed by the scenic wonders that he resolved to write the book which it is our privilege to review. After writing twenty-four chapters he was convinced that he must revisit the Northwest, and between 1913 and 1919, when he became nearly blind, he made five trips. Knowing that he had not long to live, Mr. Woollen worked feverishly on the manuscript. Death came before he could revise it, and Mr. Paul L. Haworth was trusted with the work of editing it. Our quarrel is not with Mr. Woollen but with Mr. Haworth. The editor has not done his work well. On every page clumsily

constructed sentences distract our attention. In Cordova, "a modern, substantially built and up-to-date city" in the Prince William Sound region, most of the business houses have "plate-glass fronts" (II, 187). Blame for some of the grammatical errors which we have found may not be laid on the proof-reader (I, 238, 296, 310; II, 37, 128, 238), whose eyes were often dim (I, 217, 237; II, 28). The references cited within the parentheses will guide the reader only to the most glaring errors.

We have much to say in favor of Mr. Woollen. The kindly old gentleman, whose photograph appears as the frontispiece, travels with us from the Columbia River country to Sitka, noting the progress of the Pacific Northwest since Vancouver explored the "inside passage" in the last decade of the eighteenth century. He tells us what he knows from his own observations, and what he has heard others tell, and what he has read. If he bores us now and then with small talk, we can forgive him for his charm. We cannot vouch for the accuracy of his scientific discussions, but he has used the Vancouver records accurately. He has succeeded in giving us an account that is very different from those we usually get from travellers to Alaska. For him the Northwest including Alaska is more than a region of Indians and icebergs; it is a new world in the making, whither opportunity beckons to the brave and enterprising, to the lovers of nature, inviting them to make the most of themselves.

---

**Saint Jean Chrysostome.** By Ph. E. Legrand, of the University of Lyons; Les Moralistes Chrétiens. Paris: Gabalda, 1925. Pp. 310.

The volume on Saint John Chrysostome by Ph. E. Legrand, Professor of the Faculty of Letters of Lyons, is the second in the series "Les Moralistes Chrétiens." This collection of texts and commentaries is being published with the purpose of acquainting students first-hand with the teachings of the leading and authoritative ethical philosophers.

Saint John Chrysostom was one of the greatest preachers of Christian antiquity. In the course of his turbulent life as hermit, bishop, popular leader and exponent of orthodoxy, innumerable opportunities were given him to express the doctrine of

the Church on the vexed moral problems of the day. The most impressive characteristic of the Saint for the modern mind was his indomitable courage. Faced by the intrigues, injustices, and vices of a great metropolis, evils oftentimes which flourished under the egis of those high in power, he never faltered in his denunciation of sin, no matter from what source it came or under what powerful protection it existed. The aim of Saint John as a moral teacher was essentially practical; he wished to change the lives of the Christians of his day. His sermons, therefore, vibrate with the bustle of the times and represent the views, not of an ethical philosopher in the academic sense of the word, but rather of a crusader against the powers of evil. For this reason, his homilies even to-day sound a note of *actualité* which is often entirely absent from formal treatises on morality produced by early Christian thinkers.

The ethical material in the homilies of Saint John was extremely abundant. The editor has made a judicious selection from the material at hand with the double purpose of showing the depth and diversity of the Saint's moral teaching. The first part of this source book on ethics is devoted to the texts which make clear Saint John's philosophy of morality. The second part deals with the virtues and the vices. The third part outlines the practical duties of the believer in Christian principles.

Professor Legrand permits Saint John to speak his own thoughts without commentary or editorial explanation. This is as it should be. The extracts are so clear, direct, and explicit that commenting on them would serve no useful purpose.

The translation is new, the work of Legrand. It is beautifully done, and gives a freshness and individuality to the texts which they would scarcely possess if they had been taken over second-hand from earlier translations. With the publication of "Saint Basile" and "Saint Jean Chrysostome" there exists no longer any valid excuse for the present-day student of ethics to exhibit ignorance (there have been woeful exhibitions in the past, especially by English writers) on the moral teachings of the Church in the Fourth Century.

JAMES H. RYAN.

**Saint Thomas D'Aquin.** By Etienne Gilson, of the Sorbonne; Les Moralistes Chrétiens. Paris: Gabalda, 1925. Pp. 380.

The student of Mediaeval philosophy has come to look to Professor Gilson, now of the Sorbonne, for an understanding and an unbiased appreciation of the work of Saint Thomas Aquinas, such as are possessed by few historians of philosophy of the present day. Gilson has written voluminously, but always critically of the Thomist philosophy. What is more, he understands Saint Thomas for what he was, one of the great original thinkers of all times. And it is due in no small degree to the writings of Professor Gilson that thinkers all over the world are beginning to take up Saint Thomas again in the belief that they shall find in him something more than a mere commentator on Aristotle or a juggler of unintelligible metaphysical ideas. We, therefore, welcome this new volume on the moral teachings of Saint Thomas. It is an aspect of the philosophical activity of the Angelic Doctor which has been too often obscured by insistence on his position as a theologian and a metaphysician.

The ethics of Saint Thomas is not a thing apart from his general system of thought. On the contrary, it is and must be viewed as an integral part of his philosophy, if we would see Thomism in its proper perspective. The philosophy of Saint Thomas represents a synthesis of the ethics of Aristotle with the teachings of Christianity, and was therefore for the thirteenth century something entirely novel. In spite of this novelty it gained almost immediate and universal acceptance over the opposition of those who believed that such a union of Greek and Christian morality is inherently impossible. Gilson calls the ethics of Saint Thomas a "Christian Humanism," meaning by the phrase not that it is an eclectic combination of two divergent philosophies, but that it represents a synthesis in which the truth of humanism has been combined with the truth of Christianity in an acceptable and logical unity. It is precisely here that we behold the courage and originality of Saint Thomas. Greek thought was interested in man and his present life; Christian thought in man's soul, and only secondarily in his existence here below. There has always been present amongst Christian thinkers the fear that in exalting human nature we must to that ex-

tent minimize the influence of divine grace in the life of man. The Church has again and again repudiated this philosophy, known by the name of Augustinianism. Saint Thomas, after investigation, came to the conclusion that Augustinianism was not the true tradition of the Fathers. The rights of God are not protected by refusing to recognize the rights of the body. Such an attitude involves a false asceticism and leads inevitably to the errors of Gnosticism.

The present work is divided into two parts, following the plan of division of the *Summa Theologica*. The first part analyzes the general principles underlying morality and passes in review the position of Saint Thomas on the problems of the Sovereign Good, human acts, good and evil, vice and virtue, and the question of law. The scond part deals with particular questions, examining in detail the cardinal virtues.

Gilson has made a most happy selection of texts which he uses to illustrate the ethics of Saint Thomas. His translation is clear, at times limpid, and his comments are always brief and to the point. At last the student has a volume from which he can obtain a faithful reflection of the ethical teachings of Saint Thomas without the necessity of searching through the principal works of the Great Doctor, a fact which increases greatly the debt of every student of Mediaeval thought to Professor Gilson.

JAMES H. RYAN.

---

**The History of Arithmetic.** Louis Charles Karpinski, Professor of Mathematics, University of Michigan. Rand McNally & Co., Chicago, New York, 1925. Pp. xii + 200.

Our modern age is so dependent upon figures that the story of numbers is an intriguing subject. Dr. Karpinski, after devoting some years to it, arrives at a brief and plausible narrative which is particularly interesting to teachers of arithmetic, to whom it should prove stimulating.

The one chapter which is disappointing and seems inadequate, especially because of the character of the intended audience, is the last one, on "The Teacher and the Teaching of Arithmetic." The work of the ancient Irish monastic schools (so

aptly described by Hugh Graham, M.A., in *The Early Irish Monastic Schools*, Dublin, 1923,—especially pp. 19, 52, 117, 122, 141 and 163-166 inc.) is apparently unknown to the author. While the monastic schools taught computation in the mathematical field principally, with the intention of fixing the date of Easter, and did not make such contributions to the science as the Arabs and the Belgian Stevin, nevertheless they saved for us the classical philosophy of mathematics and should receive at least a sentence or two. Doubtless an additional sentence or so on the work of the great medieval universities would not be superfluous but necessary, also, to those readers whose knowledge of the history of education is not acute. (See *The History of Education* by Patrick J. McCormick, S.T.L., Ph.D. Compare with *History of Modern Science*). The omissions could be passed over the more easily were it not for the earlier reference to the Arabs which commits the author unfortunately to that school of thought now disputed which maintains the cause of the renaissance to be the effect of the crusades and the explorations in bringing the culture of the East to the West, rather than being the ultimate triumph of Christian culture in the West mantained from the beginning in spite of vicissitudes. Dr. Karpinski's words on pp. 47 and 48 are these: "About 800 or 825 A. D., or possibly fifty years earlier, the Arabs learned the details of the Hindu system of arithmetic. At the same time the Arabs were diligently studying the astronomy of the Hindus and the scientific work of the Greeks. The Arabs were then and continued for six centuries the most serious students in the world; they kept the torch of learning aglow while Europe was in darkness."

Apart from this historical slip, the work is valuable. The third chapter on "The Textbooks of Arithmetic" is excellent, giving the most complete bibliography of the subject we have. Most unusual is the quantity of reproductions of the title-pages of rare and monumental works about arithmetic.

M. T. M.

**California Voyages, 1539-1541.** Translation of Original Documents. Edited by Henry R. Wagner. San Francisco, John Howell, 1925. Pp. 95. Edition limited to 150 copies. $4.00. Reprinted from *Quarterly of California Historical Society*, Dec. 1924. Vol. III, No. 4.

This small publication is an important source book for the Spanish discoveries in California. It contains (1) Francisco de Ulloa's own narrative of his exploration beginning with his departure from Acapulco, July 8, 1539, translated from the manuscript in the Archives of the Indies in Seville.

Following this is (2) a correlated account of the voyage of Hernando de Alarcon, begun May 9, 1540, the narrative being based upon Alarcon's letter to the viceroy, Castello's map, and Homem's map. Alarcon's letter to the viceroy somehow fell into Ramusio's hands who printed it in Italian in 1556 in volume 3 of his *Navigation et viaggi*, from which Hakluyt made a translation which he published in 1600 in volume 3 of his *Principal Navigations*.

The third narrative is (3) of the voyage of Francisco de Bolaños as told by one Juan Fernandez de Ladrillero. The original manuscript was thought to be in the Seville Archives, but after an extensive search it has not been found, so that translation is made from a copy made in 1799 by Martin Fernandez de Navarrete which is to be found as number 28 in his collection in the library of the Direccion General de Navegacion in Madrid.

Supplementing the narratives are eight plates, including some not before published.

Plate I is a MSS map in the Archives of the Indies in Seville, said, by Pedro Torres Lanzas in his catalogue of *Mapas, planas, etc., de Mexico y Florida*, to have been found accompanying the *acta* of Possession of Santa Cruz by Cortes. It was made probably in 1536 or 1537.

Plate II is a reproduction of a section of the MSS map of Alonso de Santa Cruz as reproduced by E. W. Dahlgren, in 1892 from the only one known, now in the Royal Library at Stockholm. The map is dated 1542. Mr. Wagner compares it, in his notes, with its contemporary, the globe of Ulpius, 1542, in the New York Historical Society.

Plate III is a reproduction of a photograph of a small section of the famous Cabot plainsphere, a printed map, of which the only copy is in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. It has been reproduced twice before. A legend on the margin says that it was made by Sebastian Cabot in 1544.

Plate IV is a reproduction of plate XXIV of the *Periplus* of Nordenskiöld who reproduced the map from a portolan atlas in the Royal Library at Stockholm.

Plate V is from a photograph of a MSS map in a portolan atlas in the Laurenziana library in Florence. One of the maps is signed by Battista Agnese, the Venetian cartographer who made a number of portolan atlases, and dated Feb. 12, 1543.

Plate VI is a photograph of a MSS map in a portolan atlas in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris also by Battista Agnese, June 25, 1543.

Plate VII is a photograph of a map published in Mexico in 1770 in Lorenzana's *Historia de Nueva España.* It has been reproduced a number of times and is rather celebrated because the name "California" appears on the lower end of the peninsula. It is by Castello, a pilot of Alarcon.

Plate VIII is a reproduction of section of a MSS map by Diego de Homem, 1568, taken from a reproduction by Hantzsch and Schmidt in their *Kartographische Denkmäler.....* Leipzig, 1903. The original is in the Royal Library at Dresden.

Mr. Wagner's commentaries on the maps and texts which he edits are, as usual, very thorough and well written and add considerably to the value of the book.

M. T. M.

---

**The Life of Thomas D'Arcy McGee.** By Isabel Skelton. Garden City Press, Gardenvale, Canada, 1925. Pp. 554.

The one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, 1825-1869, is an opportune time for the publication of his first biography. From the collection of material here grouped together in consecutive narrative a much more just judgment of his place among men can be made than has been possible before. But whether the reader will consider McGee a statesman as well as patriot and politician, a scholar as well as a

publicist and an orator after reading the book is not so important as is the grasp he will obtain of the troubles and quarrels, the movements and ideas, the spirit and ideals of the men of whom McGee was a contemporary. Thomas D'Arcy McGee was sufficiently prominent as a leader of men in the middle of the nineteenth century to have attracted to himself many important men as friends or as enemies. Even Archbishop Hughes deemed him a worthy adversary, Archbishop Connolly of Halifax approved of some of his work, and Queen Victoria sent an autographed letter of regret at his untimely death. Therefore, many of the problems of his time, some of which are not yet solved, can be studied to advantage from the actions and reactions of his life. The effect of Irish emigration upon the rest of the world, the introduction of night schools into New York as a new method in education, the federalization of Canada and its effect upon British colonial policy, the separation of Church and state politically and yet a unity in protection of the individual, are such important events in the life of D'Arcy McGee that they cannot be adequately understood if his life work be ignored.

Until now, because of the passions that could be aroused, little has been written of him in permanent form. Ephemeral journalism and his own writings contain practically the only stories of his accomplishments and failures that exist. It is well then, that while his name is still remembered though seldom spoken, this volume is produced to save for the consideration of posterity, the exposition of principles and motives for which he lived and gave up his life.

M. T. M.

---

**Pagan and Christian Rule.** By Dom Hugh G. Bevenot, O.S.B. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1924.

In some one hundred and seventy pages Father Bévenot throws into strong contrast the abyss between pagan and Christian ideals. He knows his classics well, his profane and church history well, and by a series of vivid touches he paints the lights and shadows, the strength and weaknesses of the epoches over which he ranges. Paganism attained its apogee in the Augustan age. Its founder and coryphaeus was the Emperor Augustus,

who was a wise ruler, an enlightened and far-seeing statesman. He administered the Empire with prudence, and applied himself to stemming the mighty tide of luxury and evil-living but without avail. Shortly after his passing Christianity entered the field. Insensibly and in spite of furious persecution the new creed spread, it leavened all society, it raised new standards, it set up undreamed-of ideals, and before the Sun of Justice rising on the world with healing in his wings the abominations of idolatry vanished. With St. Ambrose we have a pattern of a Christian bishop and pastor, who takes the forefront in every movement for the benefit of his flock—the first of that noble phalanx of men, who won for themselves the proud title *Defensores Civitatis*. He and others, lay as well as cleric, planned and established charitable foundations for the poor, the orphans, the widows, the sick, the outcast, that Paganism in its best days never imagined, and whose apparition constituted nothing short of a social revolution.

In the third portion of the work entitled "Christian Rule at Its Best," we are shown how our Faith adapted itself to the requirements of Feudal Society. New religious orders were founded for the changed situations and needs of the day. Side by side with the contemplative monk and the preaching friar appeared the Knight, whose aim it was to champion the right, and ever to show himself *preux chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*. Of this noble ideal St. Louis of France was the most accomplished model. In the closing chapters the author shows that the Church stands secure amidst the clanging discords and shifting values of to-day. She is a living force, a vital organism, able to assimilate whatever is worth while, and raise its incipient goodness to full perfection.

WILLIAM P. H. KITCHIN, Ph.D.

---

**History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius** By Pierre de Labriolle. Translated from the French by Herbert Wilson. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925.

Time was when Latin Literature closed with the writers of the Silver Age, when Paganism was the passport to intellectual distinction, and the fact of being a Christian exposed a writer to

the neglect and contempt of the literary highbrows. Did not Pietro Bembo call the letters of St. Paul *epistolaccie*? These ignorant and prejudiced judgments have long since been quashed. To-day it is universally admitted that Christian Latin Literature is an admirable product possessing styles, *genres*, methods, *aperçus*, outlooks absolutely undreamed of in classic days. But if such ideas have by slow degrees become current in cultured circles no competent Catholic scholar has attempted until now to appraise the treasures of Christian Latin writings. Professor Labriolle has essayed with conspicuous success the colossal task. His work is lengthy; *de longue haleine*, he, no doubt himself would say, and of long gestation also, for he has crystallised in those five hundred pages the reading, research and long, patient teaching of twelve years. And yet he has narrowed down his subject considerably, for he does not go beyond the seventh century.

After an opening chapter on the different critical estimates made of his subject from time to time and a brief glance at the early Latin versions of the Bible, Professor Labriolle plunges into a detailed study of Tertullian. This prefervid African is certainly one of the great and original writers of Christian times, and according to Harnack himself, "the real creator of the Latin of the Church." Labriolle warmly defends him against the pretentious ignorance of certain school commentators of the classics. He says that at present the richness of his vocabulary is unknown for he coined words and phrases such as no writer since Tacitus had had the ability to do, because his genius animated, vivified and inflamed all he wrote:" (p. 101). Passing now to the golden age of Christian Latin we come to St. Jerome, the most eminent scholar of his time and a consummate journalist and pamphleteer as well—one might almost say the Louis Veuillot of the fourth century. The author sums up in two or three pregnant sentences the saint's literary achievements. "As a writer he has enriched the entire domain of classic literature—exegesis, literary history, biography, polemics, and even the funeral oration, for certain letters of his on his friends who had died are nothing else. He was thus assured of the greatest influence upon the literature of the Middle Ages in the West." (P. 373). The towering figure of St. Augustine, his power as a

thinker and a theologian, his rich endowments as a lord of words are expounded in some fifty meaty pages. More, however, we think might have been said on his *Confessions*—on their abiding charm, their perrennial appeal, their likenesses to and their differences from modern autobiographic literature. That vein of reminiscence and revelation so nobly opened by Augustine has been delved by many strange and morbid workers since, and no doubt the Professor felt such comparisons interesting and arresting though they are, would have drawn him too far from his real subject-matter.

The concluding chapters of the volume deal with the Christian poets, Prudentius, Sedulius, Sidonius Apollinaris, and it closes with a brief resumé of the writings of Gregory of Tours and Isidore of Seville. The book is a vast storehouse of information, a credit to Catholic scholarship; indeed we may truly say that Professor Labriolle is the Saintsbury of Christian Latin Literature. The translation, too, with the exception of a few minor blemishes, is excellent. But why does the title diverge so widely from the French original. In the English Version we read:—*History and Literature of Christianity from Tertullian to Boethius.* But the French edition of 1920, which lies before us as we write, bears simply the title:—*Histoire de la littérature latine chrétienne.* Certainly in these days of ultra-specialisation no *savant* would dream of striving to crush into one volume the story and the literary history of six crowded centuries.

WILLIAM P. H. KITCHIN, Ph.D

---

**The Ideals of Asceticism.** By O. Hardman, M.A., D.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924.

This very interesting volume is a history of the ascetic practices and penitential ideals that have obtained amongst men from very early times to the present day. In pre-Christian days the Therapeutae and the Essenes flourished, and these sects represented the very cream of Jewish piety.

The Gospel exhortations to strict living, the calls of Jesus to follow in His footsteps sank deeply into all truly Christian hearts, and produced from the fourth century onwards the most wonderful efflorescence of austerity. In the burning deserts of Egypt,

amidst the mountain fastness of Palestine and Arabia countless monks fasted and prayed, so that they might enter by the narrow gate. In the Western Church innumerable varieties of religious orders were found to serve Jesus in His suffering members, or to promote by teaching, preaching and even battling the kingdom of God. Nor has this heroism, this thirst for the divine been confined to Christian communities. Far beyond the pale of God's authoritative revelations are to be found numerous souls anxious to enter into close touch and union with their Maker. The Hindus, the Buddhists, the Mohammedans all possess religious communities who live austerely and practise rigorous self-denial for religious motives. The author is evidently not a Catholic, but he is profoundly convinced that a certain asceticism is required for all worthy living and notable achievement. He speaks sympathetically of the Catholic Church and of the strivings of her children towards perfection. Here and there, however, occur views on vital questions, which no Catholic could ever admit. For instance, "what is it with which God is forced to contend in a world of His own making?" After negativing the suggestion of bad spirits the author adds:—"the suggestion of 'an internal or original limitation of Power' is perhaps nearer to the truth," —which is simply to deny one of God's essential attributes. (P. 69).

Again, "but if God is still wrestling with an imperfect world, and has not yet attained that full satisfaction of achievement which alone deserves to be called rest, is it not necessary to recognize God's present imperfection?" That is surely the rankest pantheism. If such were the case, then the solid ground has slipped from my feet; I have no sure and unwavering hope to cling to, and I certainly am not going to deny myself for a being who may not be at all worth my strivings and self-sacrifice.

WILLIAM P. H. KITCHIN, Ph.D.

---

**The Miracles of King Henry VI.** Being an Account and Translation of Twenty-three Miracles taken from the Manuscript in the British Museum (Royal 13c. VIII) with Introductions by Father Ronald Knox and Shane Leslie. Cambridge. At the University Press, 1923.

Father Ronald Knox publishes in this volume the *procès*

*verbal* of twenty-three miracles ascribed to the holy King Henry VI of England. The Latin text taken from a manuscript in the British Museum is given on the lower half of each page; while Father Knox's spirited translation occupies the upper portion. This medieval Latin, with its strange spellings and uncommon words, is not easily rendered into flowing and idiomatic English. But Father Knox's literary skill and consummate acquaintance with the tongue of Rome smooth out all asperities. The saintly monarch is said to have exercised his supernatural powers particularly in favour of the young. Of one hundred and thirty-eight miracles, thirty-one are said to have happened to children under five, and twenty-four others to young people in their teens. Father Knox contributes an introduction explaining the origin and form of the manuscript he worked upon; while Mr. Shane Leslie shows why the royal saint has not yet attained the honours of canonization.

WILLIAM P. H. KITCHIN, Ph.D.

---

**History of the Irish State to 1014.** By Alice Stopford Green. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925. Pp. xi + 437.

In the twenty-one chapters of this able work the learned Mrs. Green aims, not at giving us "a political history, but simply to give a clear notion of the social and organized life of the Irish, their national character, culture and laws" down to the death of Brian Boru.

It is just such a presentation of the subject as one would expect from a historian who deplored in her essay "The Way of History in Ireland," published over twelve years ago, the awful caricatures of Irish history that are accepted in many quarters as reliable.

Irish history became a fragment of the history of the "United Kingdom" and English historians, with no knowledge of the Irish language and very little sympathetic understanding of the Irish people, painted a picture of Ireland before the invasion that was truly appalling. Nothing else could be expected, because what the Irish had to tell of their ancient history was in their own tongue.

In attempting to compile a history of medieval Ireland the

author discovered the utter impossibility of doing so without, first of all, investigating the conditions of Ireland as shown in Ireland's State papers—sagas, poems, annals, genealogies and the like.

For half a dozen years she has been at her task and she has given a book that every lover of Ireland and her history will welcome.

It is the work of a scholar, but it must not be argued from this that it is heavy reading. By no means. As one goes through from chapter to chapter one is fascinated no less by the ease of the style than by the illuminating data, for it gives us, as far as it goes "a noble and reconciling vision of Irish nationality."

It occupies itself principally with giving an insight into Irish customs. It gives a special chapter to St. Patrick and another to the Early Church, and then reminds us of the often-forgotten fact that intercourse between ancient Ireland and Europe was carried on on a large scale and extensively.

The Chapter on "Monasteries and Industries" is one of the most interesting in the volume revealing, as it does, the fact that at a very early date husbandry was carried on under the protection of very wise laws. Separate holdings came into existence before 604 A. D. with happy results for agriculture. The monasteries took their full part in the agricultural development, sometimes with such energy that superiors had to remind the monks that they were not beasts of burden but "disciples of God."

We are glad to find on such good authority that the theory that Irish Kings were all murdered as soon as they reached the throne, is not exact. "In over two hundred years (370-597) we find eight reigns of from twenty to twenty-seven years and one of eleven years; amid calamities of pestilence and famine there were three short reigns."

"Tribal States" and resulting tribal war is characterized as a modern fiction.

In compiling this valuable contribution Mrs. Green acknowledges her deep debt to Dr. Eoin McNeill.

The book is admirably brought out for the student. Each chapter is followed by references which, in fact, is a most valu-

able reading list. Maps are at hand when needed and the entire volume is carefully and usefully indexed. It may be regarded as an authoritative work on the period it deals with—a real history of Ireland.

M. B.

---

**A History of Gaelic Ireland from the Earliest Times to 1608.** By P. W. Joyce, LL.D., M.R.I.A. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1924. Pp. vii + 565.

This History of Gaelic Ireland will be welcomed by those who, though not having the time or inclination to delve into the larger volumes on the subject, are, nevertheless, anxious to gain a clear concept of Mediaeval Ireland.

It is the work of a man who devoted the greater part of his life to the study of ancient Irish History in all its branches and whose works on the subject are regarded as bearing the hallmark of scholarship.

The book falls into four parts dealing respectively with

1. Manners, Customs, Institutions.
2. Ireland under Native rule.
3. The period of Invasion.
4. The period of Confiscation and Plantation.

As the author himself tells us in the Preface, the chapters do not pretend to be deep or exhaustive, but, though set forth in simple language, they are as comprehensive as the object demands and are thoroughly accurate. Dr. Joyce accepts nothing second hand. Whatever he has written on the subject has been derived from original documents, and references are given wherever the slightest question might be raised. Furthermore, those who read the volume will have to admit, I think, that the author has written soberly and moderately, avoiding exaggeration and bitterness, and showing fair play all round.

Very often those undertaking the reading of Irish History, particularly in the absence of a qualified tutor without, first of all, perusing an introductory volume of this type, find themselves at sea or, at any rate, disappointed with the subject. Terms from the Gaelic have no meaning for them. Sources of Irish History are not mentioned except in foot notes, as knowledge of them is presumed. Many things that mystify are taken

for granted with the result that the study is abandoned. A grasp of the contents of the first part of this manual is essential for anyone wishing to begin the study of Irish History properly attuned, as one would say, and no volume that I know of gives the information in such convenient form as does this hand-book. There is, for instance, a section devoted to the Irish tongue and a short explanation of the rules of Irish poetry. Ancient Irish Literature is classified and the names of the principal books given with brief explanations. Laws and Customs are given and explained. And all is done with a view to preparing the way for an intelligent study of the history of Gaelic Ireland, that is, the History of Ireland up to the first years of James I when the Brehon Law and the Irish Land Customs were set aside.

As to the general plan of the subsequent parts of the book, Dr. Joyce tells us "I have generally followed the plan of weaving the history round important events and leading personages. This method while sometimes necessitating a slight departure from the strict order of time, has enabled me to divide the whole book into short chapters, each forming a distinct narrative more or less complete in itself, and it has aided me in endeavors to infuse some life and human interest into the story." This, together with the fact that heavy type, when called for, is employed, and that a good index completes the volume, will commend it alike to the teacher as well as to the general reader. A folding map of modern Ireland with the place names in Gaelic goes with the volume.

M. B.

# NOTICES

*The Constitution of the United States*, by James M. Beck. (George H. Doran Company, New York) supplies a long-needed history of the making of the Federal Constitution. It traces the historic origin of the Constitution, tells the story of its formulation in 1787 with dramatic power, discusses its fundamental political philosophy and the perils to its future under present social conditions. It has a Foreword by President Coolidge.

*The Essential American Tradition*, compiled by Jesse Lee Bennett, (George H. Doran Company, New York) is an interpretation of the American spirit from the days of our national beginnings down to the present and is invaluable as a class study and reference for students of history and government and social science. It contains an anthology of striking and significant paragraphs and sentences from our national documents, state papers, and the writings and speeches of American statesmen and leaders from 1619 to 1925. In four chapters of Introduction the author has sought to show the continuing tradition of America and to apply the great ideals and aspirations of our founders to the complicated problems now confronting us. So much that is misleading and absurd has been thought, spoken and written about "the American idea" that this modern method of going to the sources of our national consciousness for the facts will be welcomed by every student who really cares about American ideals.

*The Making of the Western Mind*, by F. Melian Stawell and F. S. Marvin, (George H. Doran Company, New York). This book describes the leading elements of the European cultural inheritance as taken over and increased by the nations of the West, from the days of classical Greece to our own. It indicates clearly the distinctive contribution of each period and culture and literature, art, science, philosophy and politics. Students of history will find it especially valuable because of its estimate of the main factors in our common culture, the chief problems that underlie our divisions as men and peoples, and the principal grounds of hope for the future.

*The Negro from Africa to America*, by W. D. Weatherford, (George H. Doran Company, New York). This volume is undoubtedly destined to become the standard work on the many-sided and urgent problem of the Negro in America. Timely, comprehensive, thoroughly readable, the book gives just the information desired regarding the African background of the Negro, the slavery source of his coming to America, and the religious, educational and economic factors connected with his life in this country. Dr. Weatherford faces all issues squarely, and gives the plain facts in a way that will appeal to thoughtful students of both races. Its accuracy of statement free from exaggeration and prejudice, and exhaustive treatment make the work the most desirable text-book for colleges and universities.

*The Quebec Act: A Study in Statesmanship*, by R. Coupland, Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford, (Oxford University Press, American Branch, New York) is a valuable acquisition to the historical literature of Canada. The author tells us: "It is the purpose of this essay to explain how it happened that, when the thirteen southward colonies severed their old-standing ties with Britain, the great colony in the North, very recently acquired and by conquest, not by settlement, continued in its new allegiance." An extensive review of this valuable volume will appear later.

*A History of England*, by Hilaire Belloc, Volume I, B. C. 55 to A. D. 1066, with nine maps, (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York) aims to emphasise the historical truth that the chief social and political phenomena of national history are religious in origin, not racial and still less matters of language. The first volume deals with Pagan England and Catholic England from the landing of Julius Caesar to the Battle of Hastings. Mr. Belloc's method of treatment here as in many other works differs vastly from that of other historians, and many will possibly dissent from his findings. When we review the volume *ad longam* these matters will receive due attention.

In the last issue of the REVIEW, we credited *The Plays of Roswitha* to Chatto and Windus, London. The Oxford University Press, American Branch, should be credited as publishers.

*Julien d'Halicarnasse et sa Controverse avec Sévère d'Antioch sur l'Incorruptibilité du Corps du Christ, by René Draguet* (Smeesters, Louvain) is an exhaustive study of a phase of the Monophysite controversy, hitherto inadequately studied.

Boccard (Paris) has recently published two volumes of papal documents: *Lettres Communes des Papes d'Avignon*, fascicule 20, *Jean XXII*, by G. Mollat, and *Lettres Closes, Patentes et Curiales*, fascicule 2, Clement VI, E. Déprez.

The Princeton University Press has lately published a *History of the Byzantine Empire*, translated from the French of Professor Charles Diehl of the University of Paris; also *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, by Professor Henri Pirenne of Ghent, based on lectures delivered by him whilst in this country.

The *Southern Cross* of Cape Town for March 25, 1925, carries a short biographical sketch of the Vicar Apostolic of the Western Vicariate of Good Hope, the Right Rev. John Rooney, titular bishop of Sergiopolis. While the sketch is brief, it touches upon the prominent features of Bishop Rooney's life and is practically the only record obtainable of the man, who, for nearly sixty years, has had a foremost part in the development of the Catholic

Church in the British possessions of South Africa. He was ordained in Rome in 1867 by Constantine, Cardinal Patrizi then Vicar General of His Holiness Pius IX, and archpriest of St. John Lateran. Some years previously when a son had been born to Napoleon III and the Empress Eugénie, it was Cardinal Patrizi who officiated at the baptism of the Prince Imperial, for whom Pius IX was godfather. It was a curious twist of fate indeed which designated Father Rooney, then acting as chaplain to the British forces at Simonstown, to accompany the body of the dead Prince Imperial, killed in the Zulu tragedy, back to England and Eugénie.

But the most important events of Bishop Rooney's life are told as in the case of so many of the successors of the Apostles, not in journals of governments so much as in the hearts and souls of his people and in the monuments of stone which are the property of the Church for the care and salvation of men. Born near Dublin in 1844, educated at All Hallows College and at the Propaganda, he went directly after his ordination to the African mission inspired by the personal leadership of Bishop Grimley, the second Vicar Apostolic, whose consecration, he who was to be the fourth Vicar, witnessed at Rome. Ever since his life story and the history of the Catholic Church in South Africa have been inextricably related.

*Burrillville, R. I., and the Catholic Church: A Historical Sketch*, by Rev. T. E. Ryan, covers a virgin field and is especially deserving of attention. The author tells the story of the town and district of Burrillville from its beginnings as a settlement, and gives in detail the history of the Catholic Church in that territory. He is to be commended for his persistency in bringing to completion a rational volume embodying the sparse and varied records which lay in his path.

Carefully written parish histories are the most necessary elements of larger church histories but unfortunately there are very few which can be pointed to as models. The address of Dr. Guilday before the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadephia and printed in Vol. XXXV of the *Records*, for Jan., Mar., 1924, contains the best bibliography on the subject available and a résume of what a parish history should contain.

Father Ryan has done his work on the whole very well. Although he prays the indulgence of his readers, perhaps he will not mind, in such a review as this, a suggestion that a map, more pictures of church properties and earlier pastors, autograph facsimiles or facsimilies or longer copies of records and fuller lists of names of participants in various enterprises together with a table of all important items in chronological order, as he has done with the names of previous pastors, would add to the facilities for reference. The index is particularly good as is the author's general conception of his subject and his use of emphasis on the leading events.

A very interesting and important account of the life of Cardinal O'Connell was printed in the pages of the Boston *Sunday Post* on the consecutive Sundays, January 18 to March 1, 1925, inclusive. Most of the incidents narrated have never before been published. Included is much new matter

on his birth, parentage and childhood, his college days, and the years of his priesthood before his elevation to the See of Boston. The underlying spirituality which is manifested by the well-known endeavors of His Eminence to increase piety among his priests and people through Lenten, May and October devotions, daily Mass attendance, frequent communions and retreats, is here made clear. The suffering in spirit resulting from lack of understanding and sympathy which only a merciful God can assuage and which has been the lot of the brilliant Cardinal more than is generally realized, can be better understood after reading these articles. And espcially well brought out is what is probably the key to His Eminence's whole character, the fact that he never sought an office and never refused one that he was called upon to perform. The greatest generals are always the best soldiers. Doubtless it was his own willingness to obey orders which fitted him for the position of command which he holds. The fact that his duties lay in the field of the spectacular more frequently than is the lot of most men cannot be attributed to anything except his ability to fulfill them, for these articles definitely show that he never questioned his own will as to its pleasure or misgivings but obeyed. By never asking others to do what he would not do himself under the same circumstances he has the inherent power of leadership. The fact, too, that he has always held church dignitaries in the highest honor, even as a young man believing of the priesthood that "nobody could be good enough for that" and that he was trained for office in the most regal school the papacy of modern times has seen,—that of Leo XIII—has resulted in the exemplary respect and dignity he manifests for his own office, a characteristic to be emulated by all within his radius.

An adequate account of a living bishop is always a most difficult thing to obtain G. C. Comstock, by detailing these incidents in the *Post* has done a great service to the future biographer of the Cardinal Archbishop of Boston which deserves to be put in more permanent form.

M. T. M.

The *Analecta Ordinis Praedicatorum*—memorial number dedicated to Cardinal Fruhwirth—contains an interesting historical sketch of Fr. Luke Concanen, O.P., first bishop of New York, by Fr. Reginald V. Hughes, O.P., a former student in the American Church History department of the Catholic University of America. Fr. Hughes is making a detailed study of Bishop Concanen's life with a view to future publication. We look forward to this volume of a former pupil with great interest.

Three lectures on "Modernism and the Christian Church," and originally delivered at Farm-street by the Rev. F. Woodlock, S.J., have now been published in book form by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. To them have been added a Preface by Mr. G. K. Chesterton, an additional chapter on "The Problem and Prospects of Christian Reunion," and the author's letter to the *Times*, of December 29, 1923, on the Mechlin Conversations. Among

the many important points emphasized, not the least is the habitual misrepresentation of the Established Church by Anglo-Catholics in their overtures to both East and West. It is not pleasant to accuse anyone of this fault, and it is quite likely that Anglo-Catholics deceive themselves before deceiving others, but the same thing is going on to-day with the Eastern ecclesiastics who have participated in the Nicene Council celebrations.

Monsignor Batiffol's little volume *Catholicisme et Papauté: Les Difficultés Anglicanes et Russes* (J. Gabalda, 90, Rue Bonaparte, Paris), will not only be read by Catholics, but also by that group of Anglicans who some months ago returned with pathetic eagerness to chase the *ignis fatuus* of Reunion in the fields of Flanders.

More than half of the book is taken up with two replies by Mgr. Batiffol to Bishop Gore. The first an answer to Gore's Grosvenor Chapel addresses on "Catholicism and Roman Catholicism," appeared in the *Revue des Jeunes*, April 10, 1923. The second, dealing with Gore's reply in *The Christian East* for June, 1924, appeared in that periodical in the following December. The remaining essays deal with M. Kattenbusch's exposition of "Tu es Pètrus" and M. Glubokovsky's artice in *The Christian East*, November, 1923, on "Papal Rome and Orthodox East," together with a letter to Mr. Puller.

Unquestionably the most important section is that devoted to Bishop Gore. It is not the purpose of this review to indicate in detail how Mgr. Batiffol demonstrates the pre-eminence of Peter in the Apostolic age, by what arguments he shows that the hegemony of the Roman Church is no mere heritage from the pagan Empire, or with what clarity he exposes Gore's theory of unity by faith, sacraments, and hierarchy as a polity, which, because it contemplates nothing beyond the unity of the faithful in the local Churches, can do nothing to bind those Churches into the unity of the one Catholic Church

More substantial than the usual volume so described is *A Short History of Mediaeval England*, by A. Gordon Smith, M.A., late Scholar of Jesus College, Oxford (Burns Oates and Washbourne, London). It begins with the achievements of Alfred the Great and carries the story down to the death of Richard III.

The Cambridge Summer School has issued a fourth volume of Studies, *St. Thomas Aquinas* (Heffer, Cambridge, England). This volume is both theological and philosophical and is of the same high standard as its predecessors. It contains among other contributions, splendid monographs by Bishop Janssens, O.S.B., the Bishop of Clifton, Fr. Cronin, Fr. Bede Jarnett, O.P., Fr. Mackey, O.P., and Fr. Bullogh.

*Will Men be Like Gods*, by Owen F. Dudley, (Longmans, Green & Co., New York), has been written to expose the greatest hoax ever foisted upon

humanity together with the follies and fallacies of the hoaxers. The hoax briefly is that nebulous entity dubbed Humanitarianism.

In many of its aspects the Humanitarian movement seems so reasonable and plausible that the unwary and uninstructed may unknowingly come under its influence. Even the strong of faith are stronger still for knowing the manœuvres of the enemy. The Devil is *devilishly* clever.

Humanitarianism is Satan's masterpiece—offered as a substitute for Christianity and camouflaged by pseudo-morality. It means putting Man in place of God, Man-worship instead of God-worship. The Kingdom of Man is challenging the Kingdom of God.

Here is the answer to that challenge.

This book has been written for Catholics in defense of their faith. It has also been written to point out to non-Catholics the choice now lying before them—this new paganism or Catholicism. One leads to misery the other to happiness. The problem of human happiness is thrashed out.

The apostolate of the Church and the function of the faithful as "the salt of the earth" is the theme of *Christ in his Brethren*, by Fr. Raoul Plus, S.J., (Burns and Oates, London). The Church's essential unity forms the basis for that practical unity of love, which should bind all Catholics together. The motives for that love and its boundlessness are proved by the example of the Master Himself. How this love may be fruitful in the world is treated under three heads, the Exterior Apostolate, the Apostolate of Prayer, and the Apostolate of Suffering. The chapters on the contemplative life and on suffering make valuable reading in an age when everyone would be a Martha.

The question is sometimes asked, "Was St. Augustine an Evolutionist?" Certainly, as Fr. Henry Woods, S.J., in his *Augustine and Evolution* (Universal Knowledge Foundation) admits, "no one pretends that the Holy Doctor held or taught evolution in any modern form. What is assumed is that his doctrine of creation finds its logical consequences in evolution" (p vii.). Father Woods thinks that this assumption is wrong and, accordingly he gives an account of St. Augustine's view as found in the *De Genesi ad Litteram* and *De Trinitate*. A final chapter deals with "St Thomas and Seminal Reasons." Fr. Woods describes St. Thomas as "by right of intellectual succession the legitimate interpreter of the Holy Doctor." And, indeed it is evident that in his own exposition of St. Augustine the author has had in view throughout St. Thomas's interpretation. But not all will agree that St. Thomas's interpretation of St. Augustine is necessarily the correct one.

The Bishop of Cleveland, Rt. Rev. Joseph Schrembs, in an introduction to *Spiritism: Facts and Frauds* (Burns, Oates and Washbourne, London) claims that this new work, by Father Simon Augustine Blackmore, S.J., is "the most satisfactory publication on the subject." A perusal of the chap-

ter heads shows it to be an exhaustive survey of the history of spiritism and a careful study of its development and manifestations, running to well over 500 pp.

*San Francisco.* By Zephyrin Englehardt, O.F.M., (Franciscan Herald Press, Chicago, Ill.) is a notable work. The author is the greatest living authority on the California Missions. In this present volume in thirty-nine chapters a full account of Mission Dolores which is the very core of the great world city of San Francisco is given. Everything pertaining to the Mission is gathered up here and fitted into a picture which is as beautiful as it is moving. Great men with a great Faith in their hearts appear before our eyes and accomplish mighty things for God and man. A newer generation with newer ideals appears on the scene and shows its shallowness by a facile contempt of these relics of the past. And then men filled with the old ideals try to make the past come back to life again and meet with approving welcome on all sides. It is written in a captivating style which well befits the splendid story and achievements of Mission Dolores.

The story of the *Jesuit Martyrs of North America* (Universal Knowledge Foundation, New York) is well told by the Rev. John J. Wynne, S.J., in an illustrated volume just published. In view of their recent beatification, the account of the lives, labours, and martyrdoms of these heroic and saintly men has a special interest.

*Ozanam in His Correspondence,* by the Rt. Rev. Mgr. Baunard has been published in an English translation by the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 7s. 6d. net. Born in 1813 and dying 1853, this apostle of faith and charity crowded into his short life of forty years a vast amount of loving labour for the Church and the poor.

Trained in the law, but always leaning towards literature, his writings were full of learning, culture, and logic. Practicing successfully at the Bar, he was ever ready to defend the poor. His married life with wife and one daughter was always happy, and his home was a model of what a Christian home should be. He lived through the revolution of 1848, took part in many missions, conferences, and controversies, and carried on a great correspondence, but through it all he lived an interior and saintly life. Pope Pius X. said that he desired to see the society carry to the ends of the earth the spirit and life of Ozanam, which is the life of that great apostle of charity St. Vincent de Paul, which is itself the life of the Divine Saviour. This well-written, accurate, and illustrated book should do much to make Ozanam's life and labours more widely and truly known amongst us, and so help to maintain and increase that Lay Apostolate in the Society of St. Vincent de Paul which was nearest his heart, and of which he was the first and true founder.

## NOTEWORTHY ARTICLES IN CURRENT PERIODICALS

Abbott of Muchelney's House at Wells, The. By the Dean of Wells. (*Downside Review*).

Acadie, Les Jésuites en. By Emile Lauvrière. (*Le Canada Français*, August).

American Catholics, An Appeal to. By J. Albert Haldi. (*Commonweal*). June 17).

American Catholic Historical Society, December 16, 1924, Report of the Board of Managers of the. (*Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, March).

Apostolic See, Mgr. Batiffol on the. By Dom John Chapman. (*Downside Review*).

Arles-sur-Tech. By Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B., M.A., F.S.A. (*Catholic World*).

Asie, L'invasion bolchéviste en. By P. M. De Belloy, S.J. (*Bibli Et Documenta Recentiora De Oriente*, July).

Benedictines in the Northern Transval. By Dom Paul Brookfield. (*Downside Review*).

Biological Survival. By C. T. K. (*Catholic Medical Guardian*).

British Labour Movement, Irish Catholic and the. By Joseph Clayton. (*Studies*, June).

Bury St. Edmunds, The East Anglian See and the Abbey of. By V. H. Galbraith. (*English Historical Review*, April).

Catholic Education in the United States, Need of a Constructive Policy for. By Rev. George Johnson, Ph.D. (*Catholic Educational Review*, Sept.).

Catholic Principles in Public Life. (*Fortnightly Review*, Sept. 1).

Catholicism in Norway. (*The Catholic World*, June).

Catholic Historian, The Mission of the. By Rev. Peter Guilday, Ph.D. (*Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, March).

Catholic Junior College, The. By Rev. Julius W. Hann, Ph.D. (*Catholic Educational Review*, Sept.).

Catholic Ireland, Scientific Studies in. By T. Corcoran, S.J. (*America*, Sept. 19).

Church Architecture, A New Day in. By Anna McClure Sholl. (*Catholic World*, August).

Church and the Present Social Order, The. By Kemper Fullerton. (*American Review*, July-August).

China in Ferment. By Walter Littlefield. (*Forum*, Sept.).

Christian Spirituality: The Old and the New. By Dom Benedict Steuart, O.S.B. (*Pax*, Spring).

Cinematography in Schools. By A. C. Comfort and E. A. Hartill. (*Edinburgh Review*).

Classics in Education, The Place of the. By The Rev. Henry L. Hargarten, M.A. (*The Salesianum*, July).

Cobbett, William. By Joseph Clayton, F.R. Hist.S. (*Pax*, Summer).

Colonization in the South, 1684-1732, Projects for. By Verner W. Crane. (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, June).

"College Novels," Catholics in. By Walter Gavigan. (*Catholic World*, October).

Commuting and Indulgences. By Condé B. Pallen. (*Commonweal*, July 8).

Concile de Nicée, Le seizième centenaire de. By E. De Moreau, S.J. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, May-June).

Conspiracy of Silence, A. By Rev. Owen Francis Dudley. (*Catholic Gazette*, July).

Constitutions, On. By Hilaire Belloc. (*Commonweal*, Sept. 16).

Corpus Christi (Panis Vivus Et Vitalis). (*Truth*, June).

Council of Trent, Bishop Goldwell at the. By Outram Evennett. (*Downside Review*).

Criminal Record, What Shall We Do About Our? By Philip H. Burkett, S.J., Ph.D. (*Catholic World*, August).

Cummunism During the French Revolution. By Louis R. Gottischalk. (*Political Science Quarterly*, Sept.).

Current Italian Literature, The Catholic Spirit in. B. H. B. Hughes. (*Catholic World*).

Dante, Dominic of, in the Light of the Chronicles. By Henry M. Gaffney, O.P. (*Blackfriars*, August.)

Darrow, Mr. A. Pope, A Comet and. By G. R. Garrett. (*Commonweal*, June 24).

De Breboeuf, Jean, S.J. By Florence Gilmore. (*Magnificat*, July).

Dissident, East, The. By the Editor. (*Month*, July).

Divorce, The Compromise of. By Ulic Burke. (*Blackfriars*, Sept.).

Divorce on the Screen. By T. W. C. Curd. (*Blackfriars*, July).

Dream in Stone, A. By E. J. F. Leatherby. (*Chimes*, July).

Education in Palestine. By the Rev. Lambert Nolle, O.S.B. (*Catholic Educational Review*).

Empire, The Crash of. By Bernard Holland. (*The Dublin Review*).

Englishmen in Italy, The Seventeenth-Century. By L. Collison-Morley. (*Edinburgh Review*).

England, My History of. By Hilaire Belloc. (*Month*, July).

English Martyrs, Footprints of the. By Dom Bede Camm, O.S.B., F.S.A., M.A. (*Catholic Gazette*, July).

English Benedictine Congregation, The Continuity of the. By Margaret Yeo. (*Pax*, Summer).

England, The Church of, and Protestant Reunion. By Joseph Clayton. (*Blackfriars*, Sept.).

Evolution, The Proper Attitude of the Catholic Scientist Towards. By the Rev. Edward B. Jordan, D.D. (*Catholic Educational Review*).

Evolution: A Recent French Criticism. By Bertram C. A. Windle. (*Catholic World*, October).

Exported Industrialism and Its Fruits. By Reginald Ginns, O.P. (*Blackfriars*, July).

First Bishop of Lancaster, The. By T. L. A. (*Downside Review*).

Franciscans, The Expulsion of from Prussia and Their Coming to the United States in the Summer of 1875. By Eugene Hagedorn, O.F.M. (*Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, July).

French Politics and the Church. By Denis Gwynn. (*Catholic Truth*).

Freemasonry, Catholics and. By M. C. L. (*Truth*, August).

Germany, French Catholics and. By Ernest Dimnet. (*Commonweal*, Sept. 30).

Grand Orient in France, The. By Denis Gwynn. (*Studies*, June).

Grotius, Father of International Law. B. H. G. H. Vander Mandere. (*Current History*, June).

Heart of Flesh, Holiness and the. By Robert Sencourt, M.A., B.Litt. (*Pax*, Summer).

Heroine of Lourdes, The. By Thomas Walsh. (*Commonweal*. June 17).

High Anglicans, Questions for. By G. E. Biddle. (*Catholic Gazette*, July).

Historic Court Decision, An. Editorial. (*Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, July).

History Professors, On. By William Franklin Sands. (*Commonweal*, August 26).

History Scholarships, A Conference on. By C. R. Cruttwell and R. B. Mowat. (*History*, April).

Historical Thinking, The Gift of. By The Lord Bishop of Durham. The Rt. Rev. H. Hensley Henson, D.D. (*History*, April).

Holy Rollers, The. By Lindsay Dennison. (*Commonweal*, July).

Holy Sacrifice, Two Books on the. By Abbot Ford, O.S.B. (*Dublin Review*).

Hospitable Acadians, With the. By Grace McKinstry. (*Catholic World*, October).

Huronne Nation, La Tragédie de la. By J. C. Tremblay. (*Le Canada Français*, August).

International Law, The Catholic Church and. By H. Somerville. (*Studies*, June).

James, William, and Immortality. By Julius Seelve Bixler. (*Journal of Religion*, July).

Jesus Christ, The Social Reign of. By the Rev. James H. Ryan, Ph.D., S.T.D. (*Ecclesiastical Review*, July).

Jésuites, Les et les Iroquois. By E. J. Devine, S.J. (*Le Canada Français*, August).

Jews in Roman Egypt, The. By Sir F. B. Kenyon, K.C.B., G.B.E. (*Edinburgh Review*).

Last Florentine Republic, 1527-30, England and the. By Cecil Roth. (*English Historical Review*, April).

Lassels, Richard, and His "Voyage of Italy." By Helen Parry Eden. (*Blackfriars*, Sept.).

Laudian Myth, The. By Rev. H. E. G. Rope, M.A. (*Truth*, August).

Law and Literature. By Benjamin N. Cardozo. (*Yale Review*, July).

Library of a Priest, The. By Rev. Thomas A. Hughes, S.J. (*Ecclesiastical Review*).

Literature, Christian Latin. By J. J. B. (*Pax*, Summer).

Lisieux, A Visit to. By Charolette Dease. (*Catholic World*, October).

Louis Philippe in Kentucky, The Curious Legend of. By Young E. Allison. (*Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, July).

"Lure of Rome," The. By Rev. John McQuillan, D.D. (*Truth*, July).

Magister Historiarum. By Reginald L. Poole, L.L.D., Litt.D., F.B.A. (*English Historical Review*, April).

Macha, K. H., Un poeta romantico cecoslovacco. By G. Maver. (*L'Europa Orientale*, July).

Main Stream, The. By the Abbot of Buckfast. (*Chimes*, July).

Martyrs, Une contribution à l'histoire des. By P. Demeuldre. (*Revue D'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, April).

Marquette, Le R. P. By H. Gaillard de Champris. (*Le Canada Français*, August).

McMaster, James Alphonsus. By Anne Easby-Smith. (*The Commonweal*, Sept. 23).

Mediaeval Roads. By A. L. Maycock. (*Blackfriars*, June).

"Men of France," Montmartre and the. By May Bateman. (*Catholic World*).

Middle Ages, The. By Prof. Hamilton Thompson, D.Litt., F.S.A. (*History*, July).

Middle Ages, The Return of the. By A. E. Clery. (*Studies*, June).

Modernism and Mecca. By A. L. Maycock. (*Catholic Gazette*, July).

Modern Greek Historians of Modern Greece. By William Miller, LL.D. (*History*, July).

Monks Mound, The Trappists of. By Rev. G. J. Garraghan, S.J. (*Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, March).

Miracles and Their Claim on Medical Attention. By Rev. George H. Joyce, M.A. (*Catholic Medical Guardian*).

Missouri, Monuments and Memorials in. By Sarah Guitar. (*Missouri Historical Review*, July).

Missionnaires, Les Premiers dans l'Ouest Canadien. By L. A. Prud'homme. (*Le Canada Français*, August).

Mysticism, First Notions of. By Dom S. Louismet, O.S.B. (*Chimes*, July).

New Morality, The. By Anna McClure Sholl. (*Catholic World*, June).

New Testament, The Westminster Version of the. By J. J. Brownbill, M.A. (*Pax*, Summer).

Nicaea, The Council of. By Hugh Pope, O.P. (*Blackfriars*, July).

Norse, The Conversion of the. By Rev. Henry Harrington. (*Dublin Review*, July).

Northern Mission of Pope Adrian IV, The. By Princess Almedingen. (*Dublin Review*, July).

Orientalische Kirchengeschichte. By G. Hofmann, S.J. (*Libri et Documenta Recentiora De Oriente*, July).

Oxford Movement, Asceticism and the. By Frank S. Friedel. (*Columbia Review*, July).

Parkman, Francis. By Aegidius Fauteux. (*Le Bulletin Des Recherches Historiques*, June).

"Peace in Our Times": An Impression of the Oxford International Catholic Conference. (*Blackfriars*, September).

Peace, Let Us Make. By Carlton J. H. Hayes. (*Commonweal, July* 1).

Physicians, Poets, and Suicides. By James J. Walsh. (*Commonweal*, July 1).

Place-Names, English. By Prof. E. Weekley. (*Edinburgh Review*).

Plenary Councils and Catholic Schools. By A. J. Emerick, S.J. (*America*, June 13).

Pope and World Peace, The. By L. J. S. Wood. (*Commonweal*, July 8).

Prayer and the New Psychology. By E. M. Caillard. (*Pilgrim*, July).

Presidential Election of 1824-1825, The. By Everett S. Brown. (*Political Science Quarterly*, September).

Principle of Authority in the Church, The. By the Very Rev. Fr. Cuthbert, O.S.F.C. (*Ecclesiastical Review*).

Proposal to Assassinate Mary Queen of Scots at Fotheringay. By Conyers Read. (*English Historical Review*, April).

Prohibition Laws Bind in Conscience, Do the? By John A. Ryan, D.D. (*Catholic World*, May).

Psychology Applied to Industry. By Sadie Myers Shellow. (*American Review*, July-August).

Pseudo-Denis par Hilduin, Le texte intégral de la traduction du. By P G. Théry, O.P. (*Revue D'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, April).

Psychological Import of the Catholic Faith in the Eucharist. By the Right Rev. Dom Anscar Vonier, O.S.B., Abbot of Buckfast. (*Catholic Medical Guardian*).

Real England, The. (*Catholic Gazette*, July).

Religion, Selling. By the Right Rev. Francis C. Kelley, D.D. (*The Salesianum*, July).

Riddell, William Renwick. By Le Code Noir. (*Journal of Negro History*, July).

Romance of History and the Audacity of Fiction, The. By Rev. H. E. G. Rope, M.A. (*Truth*, June).

Ruysbroeck, Ce qui reste de la plus ancienne Vie de. By Paul O'Sheridan. (*Revue D'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, April).

School Fight, Forces Behind the. By Nelson Collins. (*Commonweal*, June 24).

School Training in America. By Supt. Philadelphia Schools. (*Current History*, June).

Saint Césaire d'Arles, Un prédicateur populaire. By L. Foucart, S.J. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, July-August).

St. Dominic in Red Moscow, The Regular Tertiaries of. By Kathleen West. (*Blackfriars*, June).

Social Dynamic, The. By John Lee. (*Pilgrim*, July).

Saint Joan. By Mrs. C. S. B. Buckland. (*History*, January).

St. Paul, The Alleged Primacy of. By Vincent McNab. (*Blackfriars*, July).

Saint Paul, Le Christ nouvel Adam dans la théologie de. By E. Tobac. (*Revue D'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, April).

St. Peter's At Rome, Some Memories of. By May Bateman. (*Magnificat*, July).

Saint Pierre Canisius. By the Editor. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, July-August).

St. Peter Canisius. By John Meehan. (*Columbia Review*, July).

St. Peter Canisius, Second Apostle of Germany. By A. G. Brickel. (*Catholic World*).

St. Peter in Rome. By Herbert Thurston. (*Month, July*).

St. Peter's, the Holy Year, and Bernini. By Mrs. Arthur Strong, Litt.D. (*Dublin Review*).

St. Thomas and Scientific Thought. By J. Raby. (*Dublin Review*).

St. Thomas, The Apostle of Modern Times. By Jacques Maritain. (*Pax*, Spring).

Saint Thomas, L'enseignement de la doctrine de. By J. B. Rauss, C.SS.R. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, July-August).

St. Thomas, The Apostle of Modern Times (concluded). By Jacques Maritain. (*Pax*, Summer).

Saints and Scholars. X. Blessed Urban V. By Rev. William P. H. Kitchin, Ph.D. (*Magnificat*, July).

Salzburg of the Archbishops. By Lorna Gill. (*Catholic World*, June).

Santorre di Santarosa, la Grecia e l'Italia. By A. Palmieri. (*L'Europa Orientale*, July).

Shakespeare's Catholicity, Some Notes on. By H. P. Russell. (*Catholic World*, October).

Sienkievicz, Henryk. By Peter McBrien. (*Dublin Review*).

Spanish Intrigue in the Old Southwest: An Episode, 1788-89. By Arthur P. Whitaker. (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, September).

Spain's Charter to Empire. By Waldo Frank. (*Commonweal*, July 22).

Teaching of Christ, St. Thomas and the. By Vincent McNab, O.B. (*Blackfriars*, June).

Teaching Function of the Church, The. By the Rev. James H. Ryan, D.D. (*Catholic Educational Review*).

Tennessee School Regulation, The. By Benedict Elder. (*Fortnightly Review*, Sept. 1).

Theism Essential to Religion, Is? By Gerald Birney Smith. (*Journal of Religion*, July).

Tolerance, The Christian Century's Idea of. By Rev. Edward Bergin, S.J. (*Truth*, September).

To Believe or Not to Believe. By James M. Gillis, C.S.P. (*Catholic World*, June).

Unanswerable Refutation of an Ancient Calumny, An. By Robert R. Hull. (*Truth*, July).

United States, Recent Histories of. By Cardinal Goodwin. (*American Review*, July-August).

Unitarianism in the United States, A Century of. By Edward Caldwell Moore. (*Journal of Religion*, July).

Urbs Quod Orbis. By C. C. Martindale, S.J. (*Dublin Review*).

Usury, The Laws Against. By the Hon. D. Meston. (*Edinburgh Review*).

Walpole, Horace, and Strawberry Hill. By Robert Bracey, O.P. (*Blackfriars*, August).

Western Aims in the War of 1812. By Julius W. Pratt. (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, June).

West Saxon Invasion and the Icknield Way, The. By E. Thurlow Leeds, F.S.A. (*History*, July).

West Indies, American Influence in the. By R. A. McGowan. (*Catholic World*, May).

What Shall the Layman Do? An Editorial. (*Commonweal*, September).

Wise Saint of Ars, The. By Gabriel Luff. (*America*, June 13).

Writing on the Wall, The. By Frederick Joseph Kinsman. (*Commonweal*, August 26).

# NOTES AND COMMENT

**A Valuable Accession to Our Library.**—Among the Incunabula, or earliest printed works, that have lately come to the library of the Catholic University of America is a copy of the original printed edition of the *Catalogus Sanctorum of Petrus de Natalibus*, a Venetian Bishop of the end of the fourteenth century.

This mediaeval "Lives of the Saints" long rivalled in popularity the famous *Golden Legend* and after a century of manuscript circulation was first printed at Vicenza in 1493. It is probable that there are very few copies of this edition in the libraries of the New World.

A special interest attaches to this small folio volume, since it antedates Lippomano and Surius, and is the oldest precursor of the vast Bollandist Collection now in its sixty-fourth folio volume, with many more to follow. Other Incunabula recently donated to the university library are a reprint (Venice 1483) of the Roman princeps edition of the Letters of St. Cyprian (1471) and a very early edition of the Etymologies of St. Isidore of Seville (Venice, 1484).

The university now possesses forty of these precious volumes from the later half of the fifteenth century, some of them extremely rare.

---

**A Vindication of Mary Queen of Scots.**—A London correspondent of the New York *World* writes under date September 12:

Mary Queen of Scots was "not guilty" of complicity in the murder of her husband, Lord Darnley, and the famous "casket letters" which were adduced as proof of her guilt were forgeries—the work of William Maitland of Lethington, her secretary and betrayer. Such is the judgment of Ainsworth Mitchell, Home Office handwriting expert.

Whether this vindication will be of any comfort to the family and friends of the beauteous and much maligned queen after 360 years is a matter open to question. The Scottish court which sat in 1568 has already placed it on record that nothing was proved against her, but there has always been a tremendous controversy over the authenticity or otherwise of the "casket letters," which would seem to have proved her guilt.

Henry Lord Darnley died somewhat suddenly February 10, 1567, as the result of gunpowder being touched off under his bed. As Darnley himself had not placed the powder there, even in that tolerant age the word "murder" was freely used, and Mary's enemies did not hesitate to say that she had organized the affair in revenge for her husband's part in the assassination of her lover, David Rizzio, a few weeks previously.

In proof of this they produced at the judicial inquiry into the affair a casket of letters alleged to have been written by Mary to her next husband, the Earl of Bothwell. The wording of these missives, eight in number, certanly made it look black for the ill-fated queen, but she always strenuously denied she wrote them.

Ainsworth Mitchell, who is the present-day leading government expert on handwriting and has given evidence at many trials, got interested in this 360-year-old *cause célèbre* and has spent several years examining original records and the actual documents. He has examined ink, parchment, seals, details of handwriting, etc., just as methodically as if he had been retained by the government for the trial of Mary some time next month.

Writing in the magazine, *Discovery*, Mitchell describes his investigations and his conclusions, which are to the effect that Mary could not possibly have written the letters. He goes further, and expresses the opinion that it is a good thing for William Maitland of Lethington that he has been dead some time, otherwise he ought to be in the dock at the Old Bailey on a forgery charge.

Photography and research show the identity between the "casket letters" and letters known to be in Maitland's hand, and the expert of 1925 has no hesitation in condemning the luckless queen's secretary. Mitchell, however, is not the only person who has called Maitland a crook during the past three and a half centuries.

Mary Queen of Scots has had several distinguished defenders lately and no less a legal expert than the Earl of Birkenhead, ex-lord chancellor, in a magazine article gravely disapproves of the whole proceedings in the trial of Mary by the Star Chamber in 1586 for complicity in the Babington treason plot against Queen Elizabeth. Birkenhead modestly expresses the view that had he been retained to defend her he would have secured the acquittal of Scotland's beautiful queen.

The whole proceedings were illegal, as was Mary's detention in English prison castles for 19 years. However, they were not quite such sticklers for legality in those days, and Birkenhead, having given the judgment of the jurist, admits the politician's viewpoint as to the desirability of executing Mary. It was a frame-up from the start, but, politically, you know, Elizabeth simply couldn't let Mary live, says Birkenhead.

---

**The Vatican and the League of Nations.**— Certain newspapers having recently declared that Father Gemelli, rector of the Catholic University of Milan, in a discourse in the Cathedral at Geneva at the time of the opening of the present session of the League of Nations, had said that he brought greetings from the Pope and his blessings on its work. They conclude that reference to the assurance of true peace by the admission of the Church to the league indicates that the pope has sought admission to the league. The *Osservatore Romano* officially denies that anyone has been authorized to speak in the name of His Holiness on this subject. Father Gemelli asserts that the name of the Pope was not mentioned in the whole of his discourse. The official organ of the Vatican declares that the Holy See never has had any desire to belong to the present League of Nations. On the contrary, the Vatican has always considered that the Holy See, as a spiritual power, could never find itself on a parity with territorial powers which considered only material interests. In any case, the work of the Holy See, in discussions of nations, could only be that of a court of arbitration or appeal.

**Vital Importance of the Catholic Press.**— During the annual meeting of the Catholic Hierarchy held at Washington in September, Bishop McDevitt, of Harrisburg, chairman of the Press Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, made a valuable and elaborate report. At the close of the report the Bishop said:

If we are alive to the vital and unexaggerated importance of the Catholic Press and are willing to back it with funds, not as a semi-commercial enterprise but as a spiritual and educational factor in our Catholic campaign then, and only then, shall we be in the way of using the powerful engine of the Press for the cause of Christ.

Few things seem more deserving of our Catholic money and service in America to-day than our Catholic press. It is the simple truth to repeat what has been said—by whom I cannot recall—that "If St. Paul came to Chicago to-day he would start a daily paper."

The Catholic press generally speaking, just like the rest of the American press, has to depend for its income mainly on advertising. About 80 per cent of the advertising that appears in a Catholic newspaper comes from non-Catholic sources. Indeed that figure is conservative. In our own case we would say that about 85 to 90 per cent of our advertising income comes from Protestant business houses, or business controlled by Protestants. The subscription end of course is practically all Catholic but no Catholic paper could live on its subscription income.

The Catholic press has improved much in the last fifteen or twenty years. The Catholic news service has made a great change for the better. But the expense of producing a Catholic paper like all other printing operations has gone higher and higher and it is no easy task to keep a Catholic paper going as a business proposition. Bishop McDevitt referred to the "Vital and unexaggerated importance of the Catholic press" and he asked for the right kind of support for Catholic publications. His remarks should carry great weight for they come from a Prelate who has had vast experience with the problems of the press.

Never was the Catholic press more needed than now, when un-Christian and anti-Catholic publications are multiplying in all sections of the country.

As the present Pope said in his first public reference to the press, "We must combat the evil press with the good press, and the good press is the Catholic press."

We hope that Bishop McDevitt's conclusions will meet with general approval and that practical steps will be taken to carry out his ideas.

---

**A Blow at Concentration of Education.**— The *Standard and Times* September 1st, says:

President Coolidge recently delivered a severe blow to the hopes of those who are advocating the centralization of education. The President informed agents of the movement that he considers a Federal Department of Education both unnecessary and inadvisable. A federal monopoly of education would lend itself to many abuses of which standardization alone should be enough to condemn it.

In any country as large as this, such standardization would prove calamitous. The educational needs of those living in our large seaboard cities are very different from the needs of the middle west farmer; and both again are different from those of the southern mountaineer. The Federal machinery is already clutered up with too many attachments for smooth working. The tendency should be to cut down rather than to extend the activities of the Washington government. It is a fundamental thing to say, but important at the present time, nevertheless, that the political freedom of a people depends on individualism which has never been aided by paternalism in government. None knows better than the President, moreover, that such a department would be tremendously expensive. In view of his policy of economy alone he would look with slight favor on any such scheme.

Far the greatest threat, however involved in this proposal is the subjection of the important work of training the young to the vicissitudes of partisan politics. Inevitably a change of administration would mean confusion and disorder in educational circles throughout the country, with consequent instability of programme and the substitution of political expediency for purposeful progress.

---

**"Library Looting."**— A very interesting paper on "The Looting of Catholic Libraries During the XVI.-XIX. Centuries" was prepared for the Third Annual Convention of the Jesuit Educational Association, Mid-West Division, by the Rev. Henry H. Regnet, S.J., librarian of St. Louis Univer-ity. It is of a matter of general knowledge, says a press bulletin of the C. B. of the C. V. that a greater part of the most valuable codices and incunabula now in the State and University Libraries of the European countries were at one time the property of monasteries and convents, of cathedrals and chanceries. And at that, those libraries possess to-day only what escaped the ruthlessness of the Reformers during one persecution or other of the Church.

Because even as late as the seventies of the last century, the contents of monastic libraries, sequestered by the Italian government, were sold for old paper. Many a collector at that time rescued some old tone or Aldine in 8vo. or 24mo., discovered in the shop of a Roman or Florentine grocer, who had bought the books for wrapping paper.

Father Regnet expresses the opinion that probably "half of the finest manuscripts and valuable printed books of early days were ruthlessly destroyed." Restricted to Catholic books, this is probably correct, or even an underestimate, since we have sufficient proof that not merely Protestant ecclesiastics, but also Protestant princes and magistrates vied with each other in their zeal to destroy what they were pleased to term idolatrous papist volumes.

This is borne out by an impartial witness, called on by Father Regnet, a man whom the author of *Care of Books* characterizes as "that bitter Protestant." John Bale, the witness mentioned, deplored that the people who, at the time of the spoliation of the monasteries under Henry VIII., had

purchased "those superstitious mansions," put the books they found in the libraries to the most shameful uses. He accuses them of scouring their candle-sticks and rubbing their boots with them, thinking, probably, in this instance, of the vellum pages which would serve such a purpose very well. Others, he says, they sold to grocers and soap-sellers, while great quantities were sent over-sea to book-binders, "not in small nombre, but at times whole shyppes full, to the wonderyng of the foren nacions." John Bale says he knew a merchant who bought the contents of two noble libraries. He used the paper in the books for wrapping purposes for "these ten years, and yet he hath store enough for many years to come."

Thus were the monastic and other Catholic libraries scattered and the Catholic books at least destroyed, frequently maliciously, with forethought and intent, and at other times through sheer ignorance and lust for money. Von Hefner—Alteneck, one of the leading antiquaries of Germany in the nineteenth century, in a treatise on the National Museum at Munich, deplores the fact that during the secularization of the Bavarian monasteries, carried out about the year 1805, priceless ivory book covers, dating from the early Middle Ages, were broken to pieces, in order to get at the thin sheet of gold underlying the latticed carving and the precious stones and their settings, frequently found on the binding of early manuscripts.

How widespread this tendency to destroy Catholic books was, the last will of Stefan Bathori, Prince of Transylvania, proves. The document, drawn up in 1603, ordains: "The missals are to be cut up, while all other old books shall be distributed in the schools where they may serve the pupils to bind their books with," proving that the books the testator had in mind must have been old vellum codices of one kind or another, because only these would serve the purpose which Bathori, who died in 1605, had in view. However, he granted the executors of his will even more destructive power, since he tells them that, if for any reason whatsoever, they might consider it inadvisable to carry out these provisions, they should, in order to prevent the books again falling into the hands of the Papists, light a great fire and burn them. "The wind may carry the ashes about; I am not willing that they (Catholics) should continue to practice idolatry with them (the books)."

It would not be a difficult task to cite many more such instances, some of them of comparatively recent date, occurring in times, therefore, which are supposed to be virtually oozing tolerance. As late as 1886 an auction was conducted at Stuttgart in Wurtemberg, lasting several days. The catalogue, now before us, says that the volumes to be auctioned constitute a "large and distinguished collection of books of the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries from the monasteries of Zwiefalten, Weingarten, Schoenthal, etc., relating to Architecture, Mathematics, Jurisprudence and Canon Law, Music, Agriculture, the art of Hunting and Riding, etc., and also artistic bindings."

Had Catholics committed such crimes against letters and learning, science and art, says the C. B. of the C. V. bulletin, these facts would be mentioned in every school-book. The Middle Ages would be painted just an-

other shade blacker, if it were possible to do so, and the hue and cry regarding the intolerant ignorance of the Church and Catholics would be loud and insistent. If, on the other hand, anyone wishes to learn of the sins committed by the Reformers during four centuries in this regard, it becomes necessary to delve into books and scientific magazines of a kind considered caviare for the common.

On the whole Catholics do not make a practice of popularizing such information. It is well not to harp on the sins committed by the antagonists of the Church but an occasional reminder is not out of place since even our own people are apt to become bewildered by the blatant arrogance of those who proclaim, with a cocksureness equalling Goliath's, that the Catholic Church is an instrument of ignorance, bigotry and intolerance.

---

**A Bulwark Against Bolshevism.**— Mr. John Bassett, of the *Montreal Gazette*, one of the Canadian delegates to the Imperial Press Conference held at Melbourne, Australia, recently, paid a striking tribute to the attitude of the Catholic Church in the Province of Quebec. He said:

> Quebec is one of the greatest bulwarks against Bolshevism within the British Empire, due to the wonderful influence of the priests, who have created, by good counsel, a remarkable spirit of common sense between employers and employees.
>
> Although he is himself a non-Catholic, Mr. Bassett praised the tolerant attitude of the Catholic majority of the Quebec province. "The French-Canadian province of Quebec is one of the happiest and most progressive of the Dominion," he declared, "and although the Roman Catholics are in an overwhelming majority, there is no bigotry or interference with the religious liberty of the minority."
>
> Mr. Bassett also had praise for the economic contentment and prosperity of Quebec, which, he said, was due to the influence of the Roman Catholic Church in deprecating extremes and in standing for moderation and common sense in industrial and commercial matters. Quebec, he added, allowed no intrusion of any foreign or dangerous elements into its industrial fabric.

---

**An Interesting Find.**— While the writer was in London in the early days of September workmen excavating in Carter Lane, just behind *The Times* office unearthed the remains of the 13th Century Dominican Priory of the Black Friars. They consist of stones, four of which are segments of the pedestal of a pillar. These are now to be seen at the English headquarters of the Dominican Order in Southampton Road, Haverstock Hill.

Relics of the ancient priory were last discovered in 1900, when in Fleur-de-lis-court a demolition of old houses brought to light a most interesting portion of the building. There was an arch and a half arch measuring 14 feet in length of the north, and 11 feet of the east wall. The height of the main arch, which was formerly pierced by a window, was 13 feet from the

lowest part of the stonework excavated to the apex. At the time one authority expressed the view that the remains were 100 years older than the Black Friars' building, but Mr. St. John Hope was of opinion that they were late 13th or early 14th century, and part of a vaulted building of the priory.

So far the finds of 1900 would seem to have been of far greater interest and value than those uncovered recently; but the work is not yet finished, and more may be disclosed. It may be mentioned that the archway found in 1900 was removed to Selsdon Park, Croydon, then the residence of Mr. Wickham Noakes. A pillar from the same find was given to the Dominicans mentioned above.

The order was founded in 1221 by Hubert de Burgh who gave the Friars land in Holborn. The gift was confirmed to the Canons of the Preaching Friars in 1224. Under Henry III. the Friars were granted a license to enclose a lane for the enlargement of their Holborn house; in 1278 the Order was granted the site of Castle Baynard, on the river just east of the existing Blackfriars Bridge. A church and cloisters were erected, and gradually extensive buildings grew up around until the whole area from what is now known as Water-lane on the west to Friar-street on the east, and from Puddle Dock on the river to Carter-lane on the north, was enclosed; the old site in Holborn was sold to Henry de Laci, Earl of Lincoln.

There was early friction between the Friars and the City authorities, for the former obtained permission from the King to pull down the City wall in connexion with their schemes, and the King is found directing the City to re-erect it outside the Friars' precincts. In 1315, however, despite the King's order, the wall had not been rebuilt, and customs were granted by the King in aid of the work, which needed completion between the Fleet and the House, and for the erection of a new turret adjoining the wall. Records disclose the existence of a splendid conventional church, chapter house, and other buildings. Parliament occasionally met within the precincts and the Emperor Charles V. was lodged there in 1522. At the Dissolution the establishment was surrendered to Henry VIII. and the land granted to various persons while the site of the Priory was given in 1549 by Edward VI. to Thomas Cardwine.

The special privileges granted to the House continued to be enjoyed by the inhabitants of the precinct long after the site had been cut up into narrow streets and lanes. They were not finally abolished until 1735. Blackfriars Theatre was erected on part of the site in 1596 in spite of opposition, probably owing to these "Unanimities" and the lack of authority on the part of the City. It was pulled down in 1655. *The Times* building is, wholly on the site of the monastery, although the actual priory buildings were to the west and north of Printing House-square.

---

**The Catholic Leaven in the American Mass.**— The following figures indicate very clearly the position now attained in the United States by the solidly united Catholic Church and show the contrast between its position and that of the other prominent denominations. The first column of

figures gives the percentage of the membership of each denomination to the total population, and the second column the percentage to the total of those who profess religion of any kind:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Catholics | 17.50 | 37.80 |
| Methodists (17 varieties) | 7.60 | 17.50 |
| Baptists (15 varieties) | 7.45 | 17. |
| Presbyterians (9 varieties) | 2.30 | 4.75 |
| Lutherans | 2.27 | 4.73 |
| Disciples of Christ | 1.25 | 2.87 |
| Episcopalians | 1.03 | 2.34 |

Catholics are thus nearly one-fifth of the whole population and more than a third of those who profess any religious belief. No other of the denominations tabulated even approaches this predominant position. Lowest in the scale stands the Protestant Episcopalian Church of America, representing the Church of England of old Colonial days, a wealthy body that claims to embody what is best in American Protestantism (unless in that branch of it which claims to be "Catholic" like the "Anglo-Catholics" in England). With all its varieties it musters only one in a hundred of the American people.

By way of contrast we append the religious affiliation of the United States Congress. The figures subjoined should dissipate the idea which seems prevalent in certain quarters that the Catholic Church is seeking political control of the United States. Although the proportion of Catholics to the total population is nearly 18 per cent., Catholic representation in the Senate is little more than 4 per cent., and in the House of Representatives 7 per cent.

| | House | Senate |
|---|---|---|
| Methodist | 90 | 27 |
| Presbyterian | 63 | 11 |
| Episcopal | 57 | 22 |
| Baptist | 48 | 5 |
| Congregational | 32 | 6 |
| Christian Disciple | 21 | 1 |
| Lutheran | 17 | 2 |
| Quaker | 3 | 1 |
| United Brethren | 2 | |
| Reformed | 3 | |
| Mennonite | 1 | |
| Mormon | 1 | 2 |
| Universalist | 2 | |
| Unitarian | 4 | 2 |
| Christian Scientist | 1 | |
| Roman Catholic | 32 | 4 |
| Hebrew | 8 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Protestant | 7 | |
| None | 35 | 10 |
| Vacancies | 1 | |
| Unknown | 7 | 3 |
| | 435 | 96 |

Of course it must be concluded that these figures have merely an academic interest inasmuch as religion has nothing to do with politics.

---

**Important Archeological Discoveries.**— Discoveries made during recent archeological excavations at Byblos, the ancient holy city of the Phoenicians, have an important bearing upon controverted questions of Biblical studies, inasmuch as they prove the existence and indicate the character of the written language of Canaan during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B. C.

An inscription on the sarcophagus of Ahiram at Byblos belongs to the thirteenth century B. C., and forces the conclusion that Canaanite writing appeared one or two centuries before, which would place it during the epoch in which Moses wrote. As a result of the demonstration that an alphabet was in existence during that period, the various phantastic theories about the original language of the most ancient books of the Old Testament have been refuted. Biblical scholars need not longer be concerned by the objections urged against the writings of Moses on the grounds of lack of an appropriate written language at that time with the consequent inevitable errors of subsequent writings or translations.

This inscription on the sarcophagus of Ahiram is hailed by competent archeologists as a remarkable addition to human knowledge. From it students have deduced the character of the language of Canaan during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries before the Christian era, have reinforced the belief that the alphabet was invented by the Phoenicians, and have fixed the beginnings of Canaanite writings at a much earlier date than the inscription itself.

Much of their deduction is based on the fixed and flexible form of the Phoenician writing in the inscription characteristics which demonstrate that it had already existed for several centuries. The archeologists have held that the invention of the alphabet should be assigned to the period between the eighteenth and the thirteenth centuries B. C., probably near the beginning of that period.

It is asserted that the discoveries at Byblos conclusively demonstrate the existence of a Phoenician language with a written alphabet four centuries before the writings of Moses. Thus it is that archeologists regard these discoveries as among the most important made in the Near East in recent years. The excavations leading to the discoveries have been directed by Professor Montet of the University of Strassburg.

# BOOKS RECEIVED

(Mention here does not preclude extended notice in later issues of the REVIEW).

ADAMS, EPHRAIM DOUGLASS, Ph.D., *Great Britain and the American Civil War*. New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1925. Pp. Vol. I xi + 307; Vol. II vii + 340.

BELLOC, HILAIRE, *A History of England*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925. Pp. xiii+ 421.

BLOMFIELD, SIR REGINALD, R.A., M.A., Litt.D., *The Touchstone of Architecture*. New York: Oxford University Press American Branch, 1925. Pp. vi + 245.

CABAL, CONSTANTINO, *La Mitologia Asturiana*. Madrid: Imprenta De Juan Pueyo, 1925. Pp. 270.

CAPPELLO, FELIX M., S.J., *Tractatus Canonico Moralis De Censuris Juxta Codicem Juris Canonici*. Turin: Marietti, 1925. Pp. xvi + 517.

COUPLAND, R., *The Quebec Act: A Study in Statesmanship*. New York: Oxford University Press, American Branch, 1925. Pp. 224.

DAVIS, ROY, *Practical Exercises in English*. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1925. Pp. 104.

ELLIOTT, REV. WALTER, *A Retreat for Nuns*. Washington: The Apostolic Mission House, 1925. Pp. vii + 310.

FANFANI, P. LUDOVICUS, O.P., *De Jure Religiosorum Ad Norman Codicis Juris Canonici*. Turin: Marietti, 1925. Pp. xxviii + 599.

FIELD, WALTER TAYLOR, *The Field Fifth Reader*. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1925. Pp. 400.

GUILDAY, REV. PETER, Ph.D., *An Introduction to Church History*. St. Louis: The B. Herder Book Company, 1925. Pp. vii + 350.

HART, JAMES, Ph.D., *The Ordinance Making Powers of the Presidents of the United States*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1925. Pp. xv + 339.

HENNRICH, REV. KILLIAN, O.M.Cap., *Boy Guidance*. New York: Benziger Bros., 1925. Pp. xiv + 239.

HOLBROOK, FRANKLIN F., editor, *History of the 151st Field Artillery*. St. Paul: The Minnesota War Records Commission, 1924. Pp. xxiv + 427.

JOYCE, P. W., LL.D., T.C.D., M.R.I.A., *A History of Gaelic Ireland from the Earliest Times to 1608*. New York: Longmans, Green & Company, 1924. Pp. vii + 565.

KELLER, A. G., Ph.D., *Social Science*. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1923. Pp. v. + 173.

KELLOR, FRANCES and HATVANY, ANTONIA, *Security Against War*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924. Pp. ix + 851.

KLANSNER, JOSEPH, translator DANBY, HERBERT, D.D., *Jesus of Nazareth, His Times, His Life and His Teaching.* New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925. Pp. 434.

LASANCE, REV. F. X., *Let Us Pray.* New York: Benziger Brothers, 1925. Pp. 144.

LECHNER, DR. JOSEF, *Die Sakramentenlehre Dec Richard Von Mediavilla.* Munich: Kösel and Pustet, 1925. Pp. viii + 423.

MCENTIRE, WALTER F., *Was Christopher Columbus A Jew?* Boston: The Stratford Company, 1925. Pp. iv + 179.

MALTAIS, REV. M. LUDOVIC, O.F.M., Ph.D., *Les Syndicats Catholiques Canadiens.* A dissertation. Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1925. Pp. iv + 145.

MANNIX, SISTER M. DOLOROSA, M.A., *Sancti Ambrosii Oratio De Obitu Theodosii,* A dissertation. Washington: The Catholic University of America, 1925. Pp. xv + 166.

MARECHAL, CHRISTIAN, Docteur ès Lettres, *La Mennais; La Dispute de L'Essai Sur L'Indifférénce.* Paris: Libraire Ancienne Edouard Champion, 1925. Pp. x + 455.

OSGOOD, HERBERT L., Ph.D., LL.D., *The American Colonies in the 18th Century,* Vols. 3 and 4. New York: The Columbia University Press, 1924. Pp. Vol. 3, xxvii + 580; Vol. 4, xxiv + 457.

PIROTTA, P. F. ANGELI M., O.P., *In Aristotelis Librum De Anima.* Turin: Marietti, 1925. Pp. xii + 307.

RANSOM, WM. L. and MOON, PARKER THOMAS, editors, *Popular Ownership of Property; Its Newer Forms and Social Consequences.* New York: The Academy of Political Science, 1925. Pp. xix + 198.

ROCKWELL, DR. WILLIAM WALKER, *Liber Miraculorum Ninivensium Sancti Cornelii Papae.* Göttingen: Dandenhoed und Ruprecht, 1925. Pp. viii + 130.

SCOTT, MARTIN J., S.J., *The Virgin Birth.* New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1925. Pp. 295.

STODDARD, JOHN L., *Rebuilding a Lost Faith.* New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1925. Pp. vii + 222.

WALSH, JAMES J., M.D., *Eating and Health.* Boston: The Stratford Company, 1925. Pp. v + 223.

VAN DOREN, DOM ROMBANT, O.S.B., *Etude sur L'Influence Musicale de L'Abbaye de Saint Gall.* Louvain: Librairie Universitaire, 1925. Pp. 157.

WEIGL, DR. EDOUARD, *Christologie Von Tode Des Athanasius Bis Zum Ausbruch Des Nestorianischen Streites (373-429).* Munich: Kösel and Pustet, 1925. Pp. viii + 216.

WENTWORTH, GEORGE, SMITH, DAVID E. and BROWN, JOSEPH C., *High School Mathematics.* Boston: Ginn & Company, 1917. (Revised). Pp. v + 282.

WYNNE, JOHN J., S.J., *The Jesuit Martyrs of North America.* New York: The Universal Knowledge Foundation, 1925. Pp. xi + 246.

*Third Biennial Report of the Minnesota War Records Commission.* St. Paul: The Minnesota War Records Commission, 1925. Pp. 31.

*The Catholic Press Directory.* Chicago: Joseph H. Meier, 1925. Pp. 144.

*Handbook of Indians of California.* Prepared by the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington: The Government Printing Office, 1925. Pp. xviii + 995.

*Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.* Washington: The Government Printing Office, 1925. Pp. 636.